/10 cont./

128 — the great leaders of Muridism, their present situation, their influence on the movement, their reciprocal rivalries, their relations with the Administration;

— the importance of Muridism and its influence on the economic, social, and political life of Senegal.

/11/ Then we shall try, in conclusion, to envisage the prospects for the future which present themselves to Muridism today.

*795 778 [361] Touba is therefore the center of the Murid brotherhood. Amadou Bamba founded it in 1886, a few kilometers from the village of M'Backé (itself created by his grandfather, M'Balla M'Backé) and about 60 kilometers east of Diourbel, at the edge of Baol and the Ferlo desert, in a vast plain with bleak horizons and a sparse population.

The Murids attribute a holy and miraculous origin to the city, the Angel Gabriel himself having revealed the site to Amadou Bamba after conducting him there in a mysterious and supernatural fashion.

Amadou Bamba's difficulties with the Administration did not permit him to reside in this remote and isolated place where his activities were hard to control, but his body has reposed there since his death in 1927.

The agglomeration Touba-M'Backé-Darou forms the heart of the Murid country, and Touba is the ideal capital; indeed, it is now, for the disciples of Amadou Bamba:

— the headquarters of the brotherhood,

— a center of Koranic studies,

— a sort of monastery,

— a place of pilgrimage.

*795 793 It is at Touba that the Caliph-general resides. All of his collateral relatives and descendants, as well as all of the great Murid marabouts, have residences there, although they do not live there continually. It is there that the administrative council of the brotherhood meets to make important decisions concerning the Murid community.

/11 cont./

*795 [793] It is to Touba that the young Murids come to learn the Koran; each marabout there has his own school which forms his young talibés.

It is in Touba also that, grouped around their marabout (or his residence), the faithful dwell, those who wish to live a holier life in permanent contact with their religious leader and working each day for them and with them.

[788] [778] It is to Touba, finally, that every good Murid must go once a year in order to pray at the tomb of the founding saint of the brotherhood, at that of the khalife /caliph/, first successor, and especially in order to pay a visit to the present Caliph-general and to give him the offerings intended in particular for the continuation of the work on the mosque; this is the Magal of which we shall speak again below.

361 *795 /12/ The city appears like a great "escale" /commercial center/ of the bush. Wide avenues separate the vast carrés /compounds/ of the various marabouts from one another. A plan for division into lots was drawn up, but it has not yet been applied, Falilou M'Backé, the Caliph-general, having feared, at the last moment, the far-reaching consequences.

Touba is thus a great center. Its development and the considerable number of persons who come there for the Magal have necessitated special arrangements. Drillings have been made in order to ensure the water supply of the holy city, which is, moreover, linked to M'Backé and Diourbel by a railroad. On the other hand, no commercial establishment has settled in Touba, and the trading center has been fixed at M'Backé. [312] [496]

346 *795 Touba's center of attraction is its mosque, an Islamic monument unique in Senegal.

It was Amadou Bamba himself who decided to have it constructed, and in 1926 he asked his faithful to bring the first stones for it to Touba, but it was Amadou Mustapha, his son and first successor, who began the first work on it, after receiving by lease from the Administration a piece of ground of 400 hectares on which he could build it.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

S /372 cont./
121 delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these
369 rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here./

As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into sever-
SR al hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated
361 from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without sus-
SR [412] pecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The
[137] palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an
[273] enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad"(1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

SR
[137] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped
[283] for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself.
[241] On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different.
361 The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their
W dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration
[361] is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

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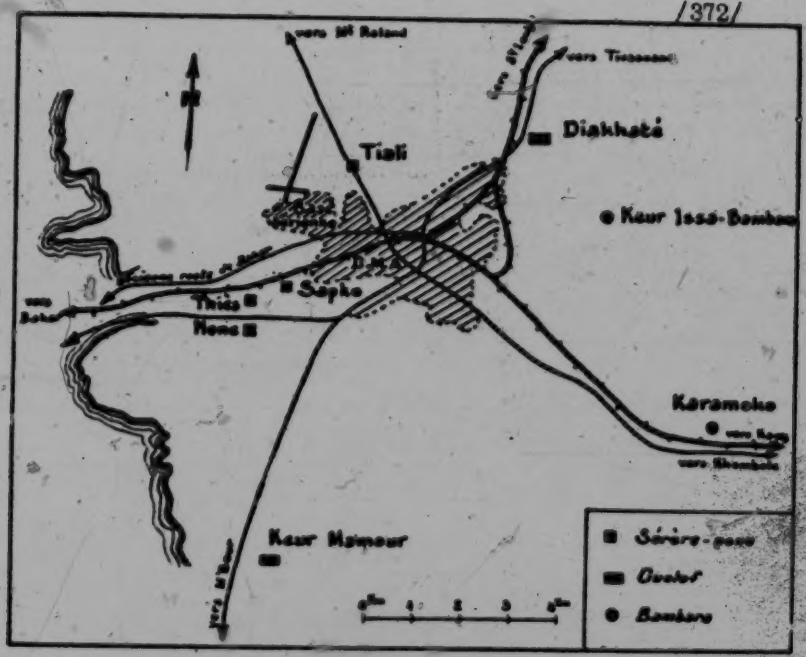

Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

S
361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

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360 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[498] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

● [361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S /376 cont./

369 The appearance of the village itself varies according to
361 the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped
SR around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a
[361] majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts,
W each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.
[361]
[351]

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispe[illegible]n is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S Even today the traditional mode of construction of the
342 hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None
SR erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of
[342] stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The
[343] kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W /377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as
[342] material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a
B [342] hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud. The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

S The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved
SR the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material
342 used have been improved.
369 The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/377 cont./

S SR 342 369 Although the walls are still constructed of mud, they have been strengthened by a plastering of cement which prevents their rapid "dissolution" under the action of the rain. In general the thatched roof has been replaced by a covering of corrugated metal. What the dwelling gains in strength, it loses in comfort: the absence of the ceiling, the thinness

S SR [361]

Fig. 2. Thiès-none, a village little urbanized, with mud huts and thatched roofs.

/378/ of the metal, and the lack of ventilation give the interior of the rooms a suffocating atmosphere in the warm season and a cold one in winter.

These improvements may have numerous variations: hut with square base, plastered with cement, with a thatched roof; hut made entirely from retrieved planks. /Fig. 3 appears here./

These modernized dwellings are numerous, particularly in the None villages; 22 out of 204 (including kitchens) are made of mud, with cement plastering and roofing other than thatch. They W [342] are rarer in the Bambara agglomerations, /379/ absent at Keur-Mamour

[text continues on p.11]

3: Savonnet--10 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

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Fig. 3. Tiali, entrance of the village: in the foreground, the harvest of millet in stacks; in the background, some permanent houses with a corrugated-metal roof.

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to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

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Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.
2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.
3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

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The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

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5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

[7.x]

SENEGAL

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

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The Revolution

OUR bus had been travelling across monotonous scrub country for several hours. The road was excellent, but the journey uncomfortable in the heat of the afternoon sun. The goats on the roof had not stopped screaming since we left Kaolak and the hair of two Mauretanian women sitting in front of me exuded a suffocating odour of rancid butter, with which it was greased, attracting a large swarm of flies. The bus had a drowsy lethargic atmosphere in which we could neither sleep nor think.

After we had been travelling for what seemed an eternity, the skyline was broken by some small hills, covered with lemon-leafed trees. I cannot adequately describe the visual relief those hills afforded. For their significance, they might have been mountains. Towards evening we left these hills behind us and our road quite suddenly came upon the sea, which stretched out before us an undecided compromise between grey and blue. Its shore was skirted by mud huts, from which hung long fishing nets, tied to gaily painted canoes.

There was a sudden stir in the front of the bus. A voice cried: 'Dakar, ici Dakar.' I looked beyond the fretwork silhouette of the fishing village, beyond the cold grey of the sea to an incredible backdrop: a vast city of giant houses, gleaming in the late sun, rode the horizon like some fantastic flotilla of the future.

'Dakar, ici Dakar.' The voice cried once more and the excited passengers took up the refrain.

Our bus pulled up into a large lorry station, in a part of Dakar whose resemblance to the Motte-Picquet-Grenelle suburb of Paris immediately struck me, except that Africans had been substituted for Algerians. At once there was a mad scramble to get

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

out of the bus and it was only with difficulty that Arnold and I managed to extricate ourselves. We took a taxi, at almost greater cost than the journey from Kaolak to Dakar, to a dingy little hotel, in the old quarter of the city. To reach it we passed through the centre of Dakar. Trees lined the streets and the architecture of both offices and houses was admirably suited to its tropical setting. It was at once evident that Dakar was a city and not just a town that had, like Lagos, rambled and sprawled and got too big. With its statuesque young skyscrapers and its wide streets, Dakar seemed a model city for the new West Africa. It was neither distinctly African nor European, but had its affinity with the modern cities of South America.

Arnold, accustomed to the higgledy-piggledy, chaotic sprawl of Lagos, and the quiet Victorian dignity of Freetown, could not quite take this in. He seemed almost to resent it as an imposition on Africa, as something that was not African. True, I found that against this background the African appeared, at first, to be an intruder. Nothing seemed more incongruous than a vast Jollof belle, dressed in her traditional robes of lace and muslin, sweeping past the more outrageous examples of *cinema moderna* architecture, or standing pensively beneath a marble plaque depicting a naked African surrounded by the fruits of progress. More incongruous still was the sight of them being spooned in and out of fast American cars or staring into patisserie windows—just imagine one of those muslin cocoons tackling a chocolate éclair. Yet the Africans seemed to have accepted their surroundings with such aplomb that very soon I was to feel that it was the Europeans who were out of place. There seemed nothing unnatural in half a dozen Africans making up their bed for the night on the pavement outside a twelve-story bank, or the young men in tight jeans standing on the street corners eyeing passing girls, just like Saturday night back at the Buildings.

We stayed one night in the Hotel des Fleurs, the cheapest I could find in Dakar. It was owned by a Lebanese, and for Dakar, a city which is almost prohibitive in price for an Englishman, it was remarkably cheap. A haircut in Dakar is 12s., and it has one of the highest cost of living indices in the world.

That night when I entered a bar called appropriately 'Café de Paris', I was unable to believe that we were still in Africa. It had

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

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A general view of Dakar, capital of French West Africa

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Wollof women on their way to market in St. Louis

[748 (B)]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] 361 [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 [633] Today Gorée is a residential suburb of Dakar, where administrators and merchants live. In the hot sun of the afternoon, Gorée, an island of unopened shutters, of lazy negroes passing life away in sleep, and of buildings that look as though they would crumble in one's hands like a hard-baked sand pie, was little more than an historical relic.

Gorée was a dead town. More pathetic, I found, was St. Louis, the capital of the Senegal, which is a dying town. I flew to St. Louis for a week-end, leaving Arnold in Dakar because his attack of dysentery had not yet cleared up.

[361] I loved St. Louis, a quiet little city on an island in the estuary of the river Senegal, which bounds the northern frontier of the territory to which it has given its name. I remembered it clearly from my previous visit, a city with no important industries, and few modern buildings to detract from the quiet serenity of the cool, colonial style houses, heavily shuttered against the fierce sun of the desert. In two years not much had changed. The houses had crumbled a little more, adding to, rather than detracting from its dignity as capital of two territories, a unique honour. The governments of Senegal and neighbouring Mauretania are to be found there.

369 633 But the serenity of this ancient city, which dates back to 1659, that had struck me so forcibly on my first visit two years ago had gone. The Mauretanians' decision to transfer their capital to Nouakchott, in their own territory, was something the St. Louisians could understand, even if it did mean a loss of income to their city. But when their own government decided to move their capital to Dakar, the Federal Capital, the population was profoundly shocked. I found them extremely bitter about it. The provincial calm of the city was for once shattered, and its inhabitants had but one topic—the transfer—and the prospect of seeing their city die, for St. Louis depends largely on the administration for its income.

One man told me with extreme bitterness: 'Dakar has killed Gorée and Rufisque. Now it will kill us.' Since the creation of a port at Dakar, the chief *raison d'être* of St. Louis has been as an administrative centre. Take away the administration and the town could not survive.

My first afternoon in St. Louis I saw M. Valdiodio N'Diaye,

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Acting Prime Minister of the Senegal, and cousin of Pierre Njie in Bathurst. I asked him what his party would do to save St. Louis from becoming a second Gorée. N'Diaye replied confidently: 'My government intends to build up St. Louis as a new and prosperous economic centre for the Senegal valley, just as Kaolak is the centre of the Saloum and Zuiginchor of the Casamance. We plan to build a great dam at Dagana which will open up the Senegal to extensive cultivation and St. Louis will not die. Of course the money for the dam will have to come from France. You see,' M. N'Diaye continued, 'St. Louis is really rather absurdly placed, lying at the extreme north and the extreme west of the territory. It is "doublement periphique", whilst Dakar is the economic centre of the Senegal.'

'Already, of course, the transfer is proving more difficult than they thought,' a member of an old and respected St. Louisian family told me. 'There is little enough room in Dakar as it is without moving the Senegalese Government there. They'll have to take hotels over for ministries. I don't think this transfer is necessary. After all, America has its Washington and New York, Switzerland its Berne and Geneva. Why should not Senegal have its St. Louis and Dakar? If they carry out this transfer, St. Louis will be little more than an historical souvenir like Gorée.'

M. Babacar Saye, Mayor of St. Louis and member of the Opposition party, told me with considerable feeling: 'St. Louis has played a great part in the history of the Senegal. Even if it has lost the opportunity of economic development as a port to Dakar, it is the spiritual head of the Senegal. If St. Louis had not existed in the history of the Senegal and French West Africa there would be no Federation today. It has been a bastion of fidelity to France. St. Louisians penetrated every corner of West Africa on her behalf. It has had an immense moral and psychological influence on the present good relations between France and West Africa.'

This attitude I found supported by a young African official from Dahomey, whom I met in the Ministry of Finance. He had travelled all over French West and Equatorial Africa. 'The Senegal,' he said, 'has always been at the head of politics in French West Africa. It has been the *avant-garde* of all Black Africa. After all it was the first to send black Deputies like Blaise Diagne to the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833 all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

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In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

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Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

[p. 6 B]

/667 cont./

125 [143] such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did [565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be- [124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness, [186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for [197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five ● [36] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

/155/

491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

/156 cont./

36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

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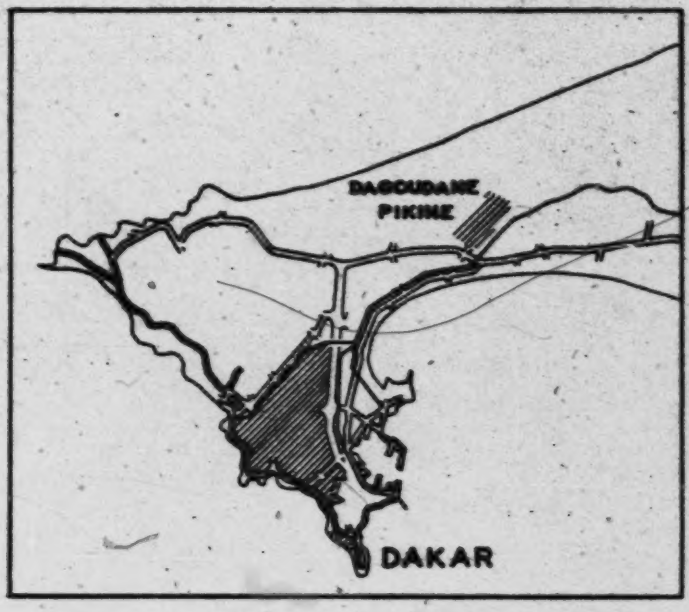

36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

/160 cont./

162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. 162 423 Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

/177 cont./

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor force 25.3%

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Pikine 37%

Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Dakar 16%

Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, a nd as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have personal means of transportation. mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word about female work. The great majority of the women do not have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

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175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

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622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the

[346] center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

[18 cont.]

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Fig. 1. Aerial view of the village of Cambérène.

surprise when the accompanying aerial photograph, taken at random during a flight at low altitude, revealed the prescribed arrangement of this village.

369 This attempt at urbanism merits notice as proof that evolution in Senegal can be circumspect and effectual and can adapt modern conceptions to local conditions.

G. J. Duchemin
(Dakar)

/11 cont./
very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121 571 369

3. The demographic account by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks certain aspects of this study. Cf. our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed. Cf., for example, the role of the waves of seasonal immigrants in colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121 361

2. These have been, up to the

17: Mercier--3 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/12 cont./

present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.).

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Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3).

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3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more.

[113]

At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

/12 cont./
everywhere unde comparable conditions and for similar reasons, 369*
ports, trading pints, administrative centers, etc., these di- 361
verse elements being joined to one another (4). One can

4 See the general article by J Dresch, "Villes d'Afrique Occidentale /Towns of West Africa/," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, July-September 1950, pp. 201-230.

nevertheless ditinguish at present several types (5), some of

5. We limit ourselves, of course, to the African West, the towns of southern Africa, for example, having had a different development and being placed in a considerably different social context.

the essential criteria to consider being the following:
/13/ 1. Their functions have more or less multiplied and diversified; thus, at Dakar, a beginning of industrialization and tendencies toward the formation of a West African cultural center announce a new phase of development. D. Whittlesey, in his first article on Dakar, already noted: "Dakar, in all the African West, is the only town in the European (or Western) sense of the term (1)."

1. He added: "No other center shows the very clear spatial differentiation of functions which characterizes the urbs occidentalis...

/13 cont./

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609)." This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years.

369x [361]

2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonial towns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city. 369x 563

The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not [166]

/18 cont./ 369x 563. [162]
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African population has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied by qualitative changes: development of the categories of technicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants. This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, has seen a division /19/into classes inherited from the society of origin become marked. At the same time, the European community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own services (specialized merchants, etc.). [161] [463] [565]

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these transformations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place). But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina, almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the 369x 563 366

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/19 cont./

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[361]

differences in the daily rhythm are the arguments put forward by those who do not use purely racist arguments.

fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and associations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the divergence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity. [575] [467] [468] [665]

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character (regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of interracial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

17: Mercier--50 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

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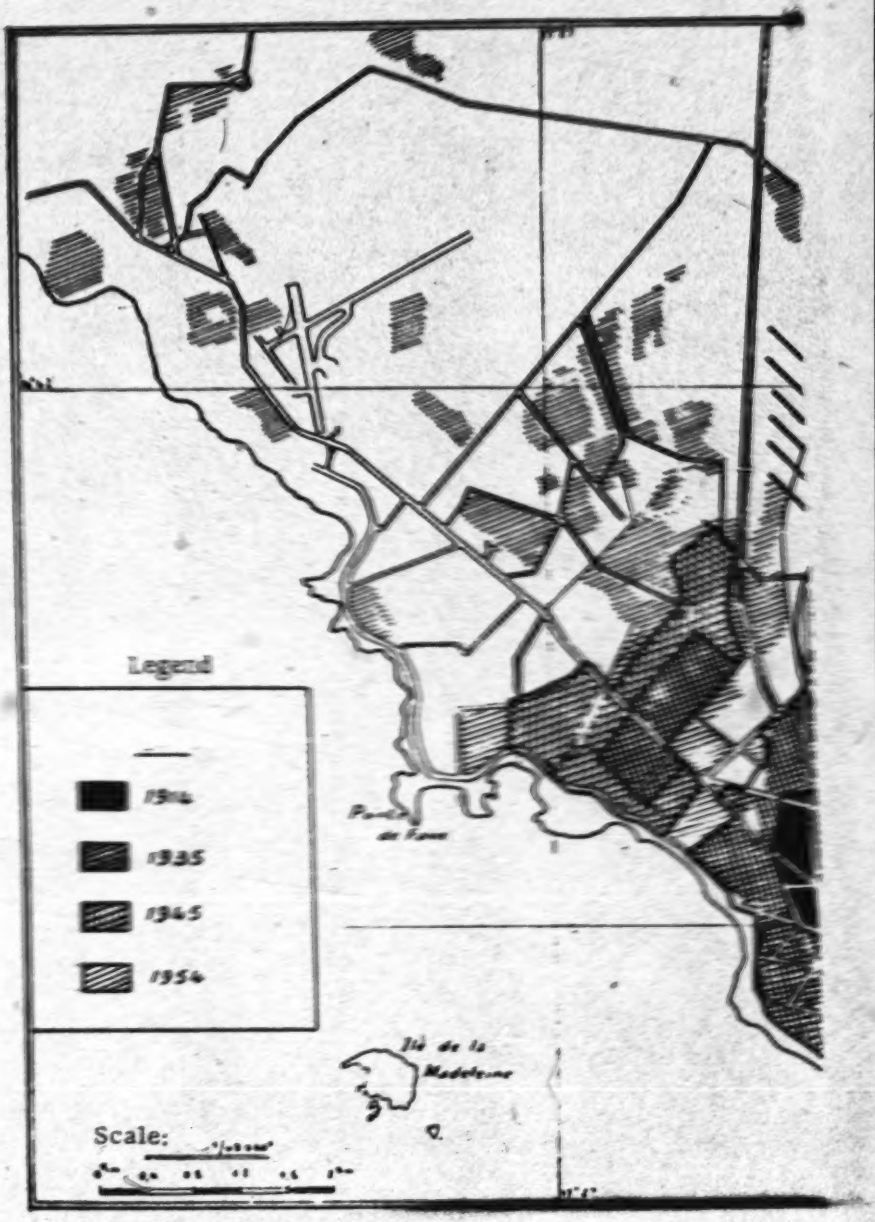

Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
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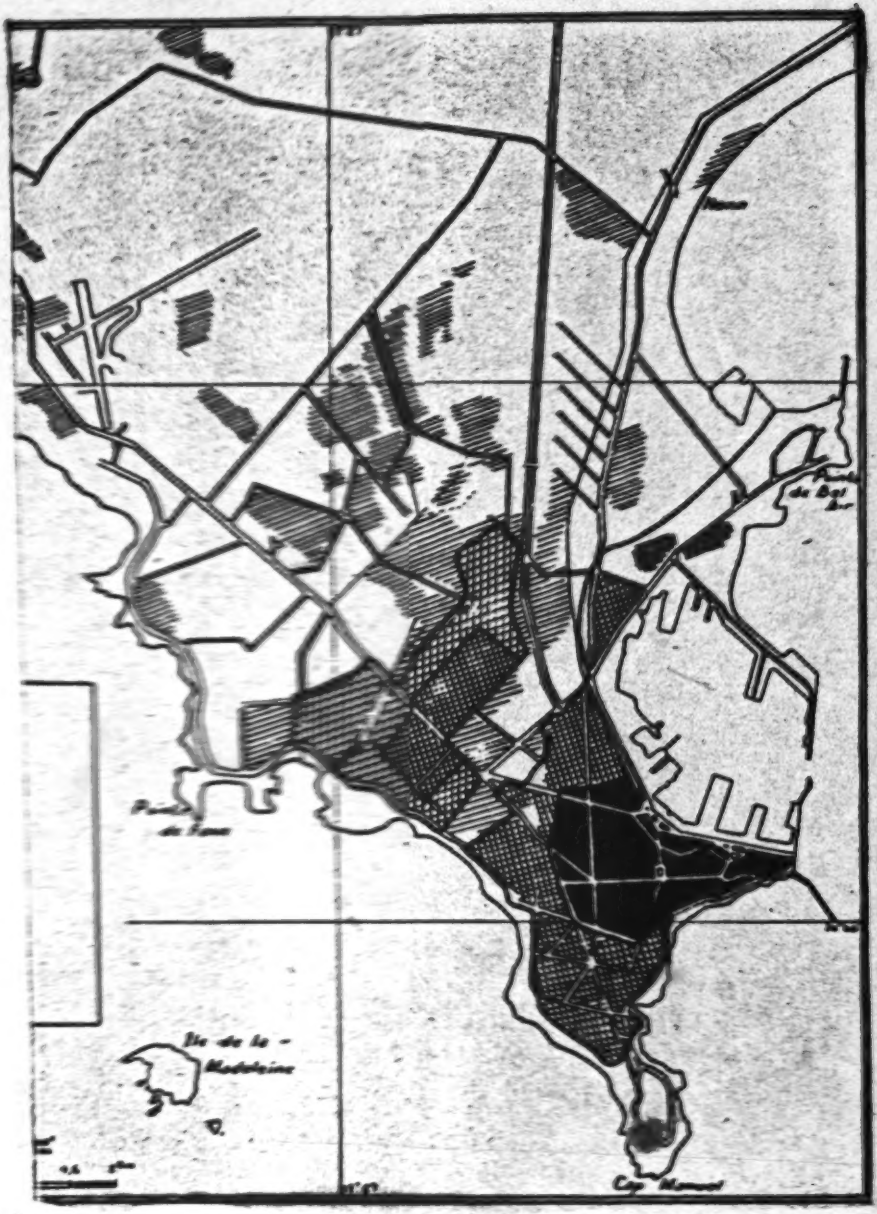

Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
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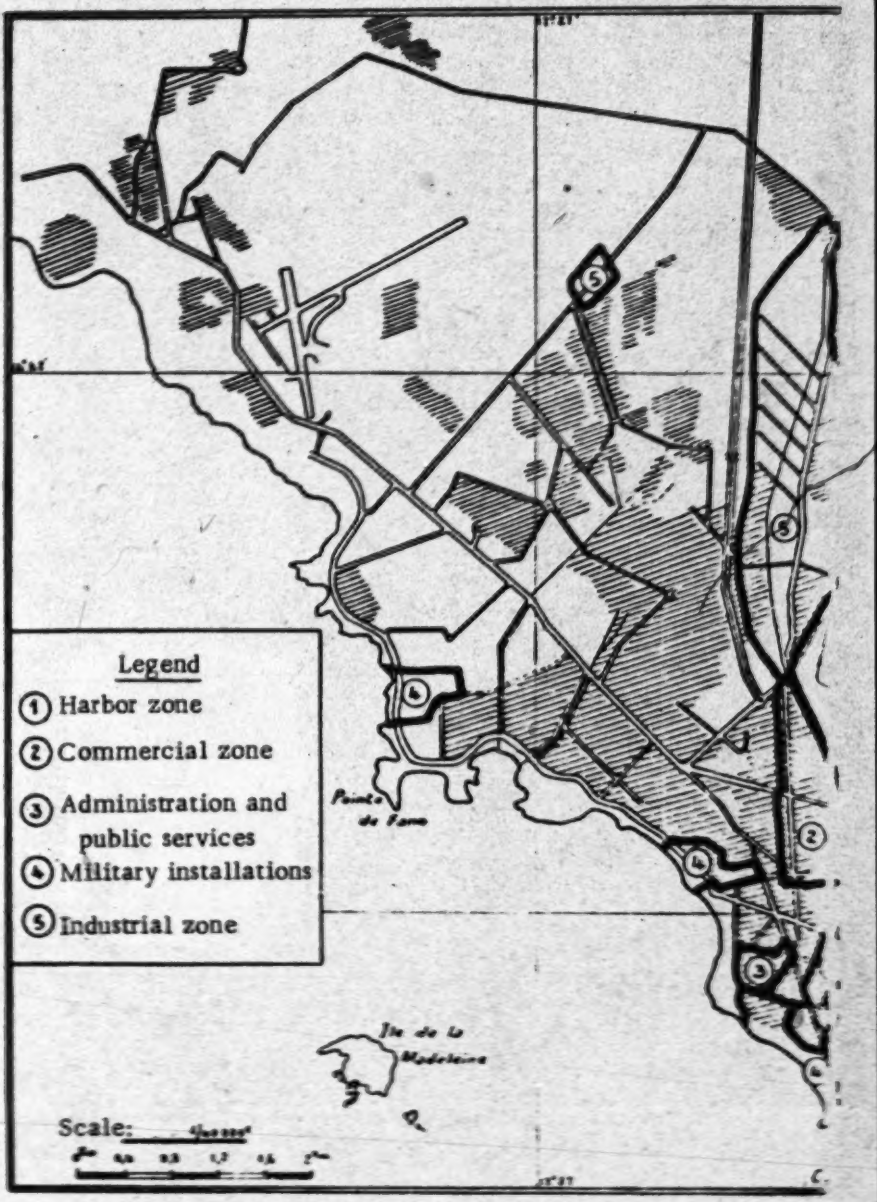

Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar /left side of map/

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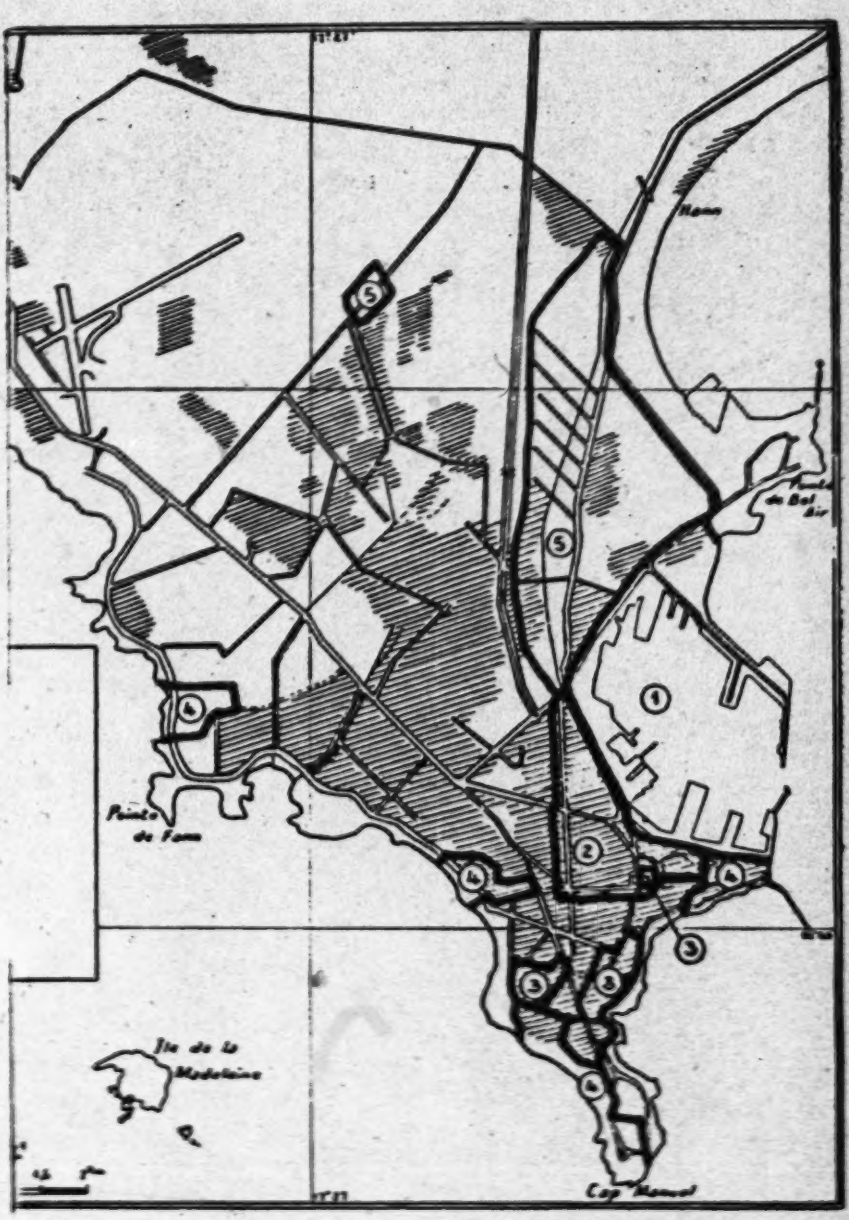

Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar.
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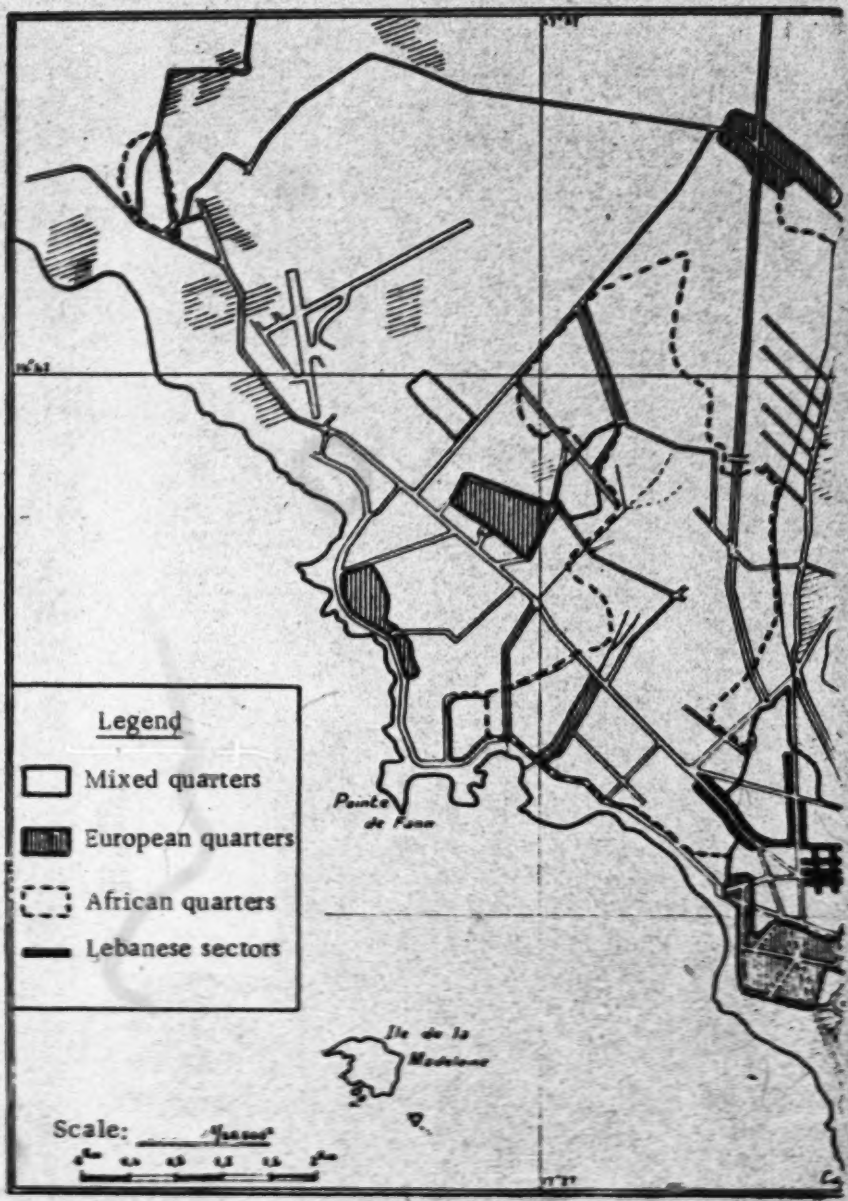

Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
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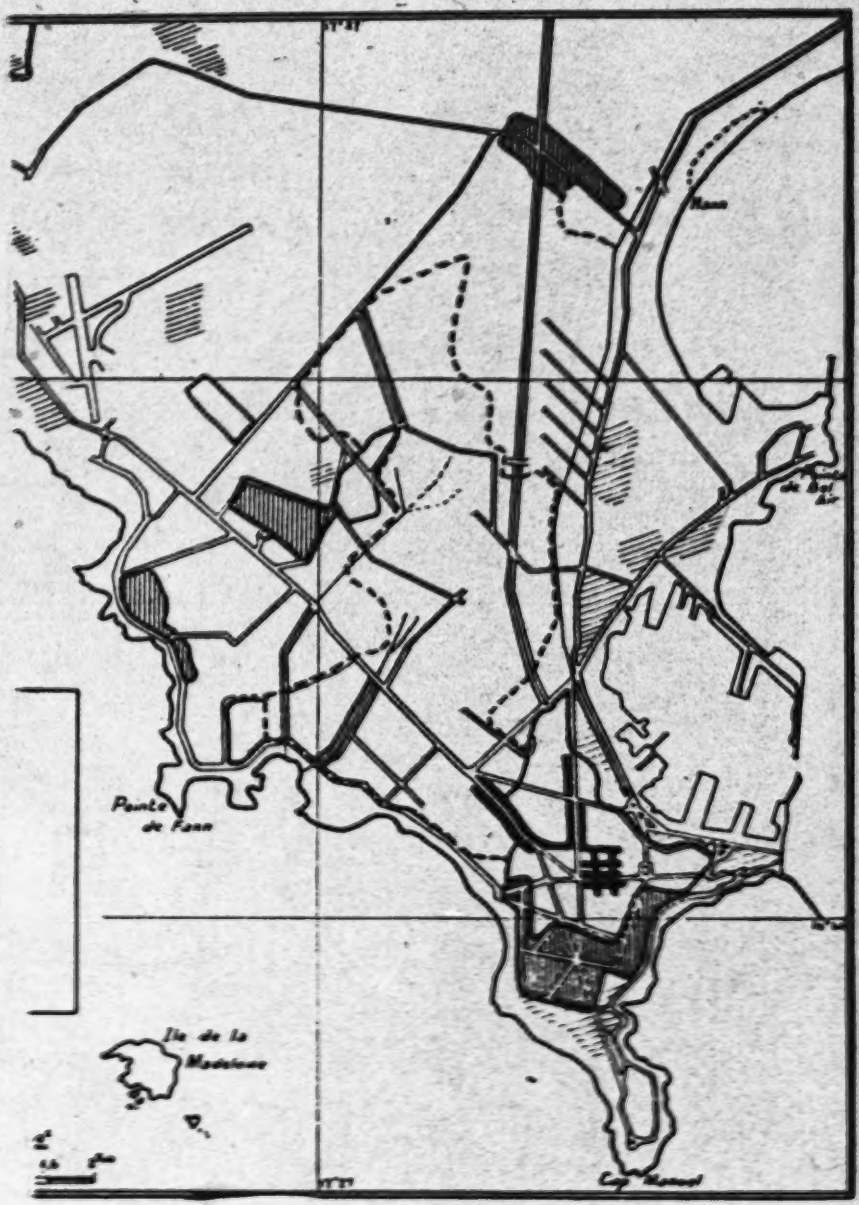

Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
/right side of map/

361 /70/ New countries present the peculiarity that their important cities are established along the coast, for example in South America and in Australia. West Africa is no exception to this rule; Dakar, Conakry, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Accra ... are port cities. In contrast, cities in the interior are rarer; Bamako and Bobo-Dioulasso are important centers, but represent exceptions.

Thiès in Senegal does not entirely belong to either one of these categories. Located some 50 kilometers as the crow flies from the nearest port, it benefits from this proximity only in a very imperfect way. Nor is it a city of the interior; its economic relations with the port of Dakar do not permit such an appellation.

361 369 It is of recent creation and cannot, in contrast to Saint-Louis, Rufisque or Dakar, boast of a rich historic past (African or colonial); it no longer possesses that embryo of the old Creole middle class which would have been able to check its evolution toward the rapid formation of a more modern society, more Western in its conception. It is a new city that seems by a stroke of fate to have thrust out from the African bush as a kind of crossroads where the lines of modern communication have come to promote its fortune.

361 133 Before examining the different reasons which governed its implantation on such a site, it is advisable to place the city within the Senegalese countryside that surrounds it. When the traveler, leaving Dakar, takes the road or the railway which leads him to Saint-Louis, he leaves the Atlantic coast at the village of Bargny and then crosses the plain of Cape Verde over some 60 kilometers. A few moderate undulations occasionally break the monotony of the landscape; these are the Ndias "massifs." A little before the village of Pout, the eastern horizon is obstructed by a line of elevations giving the impression of sizable and brutal relief. Very soon, however, some ten kilometers from this village, one reaches the slope of Thiès. Its altitude is very slight; it culminates at 137 meters. The road and railway track ascend /71/ the face by a steep grade that makes use of a narrow defile called "Ravin des Voleurs" /Ravine of Thieves/. One quickly

/7/ cont. /

reaches the summit of the plateau.

The landscape which one then discovers seems more open: few trees or none at all; only a shrubby vegetation in the form of brush from which some baobab tops emerge. In the background there gradually appears the light color of the first houses of Thiès. The contrast between the green foliage of the city and the surrounding countryside, bare and yellow, blinding with light, is striking, especially in the dry season.

The aerial photograph, or better still the flight, makes this contrast appear even sharper. The city, with roughly triangular outlines and divided into large patches of geometrical squares flecked with innumerable dark spots of green foliage, stands out particularly sharply against the grey and deserted bush of the surroundings. The presence of an urban center on this almost unpopulated plateau seems strange, and one might wonder what reasons caused this not very hospitable site to be retained for the establishment of a relatively important city?

1. The History of Thiès

1. The site.

The plateau on which the escale (1) has been built

1. "Escale" here means a place where caravans rested after the halt of the day's journey and where small-scale trade was carried on; by extension, a village or city-market generally located on a railway.

slopes slightly toward the east, while its western face forms a steep slope. Plateau and slope belong to geological formations of the same date as those of the Cape Verde Peninsula and consist principally of limestone from the end of the Secondary/Mesozoic/ subsequently overlaid by a ferruginous shell. It is probable that the eastern section rose up and the western one sank in the Tertiary.

/71 cont./

[363] The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 175 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. [361] This village was established near the actual site of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel: Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, [487] the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

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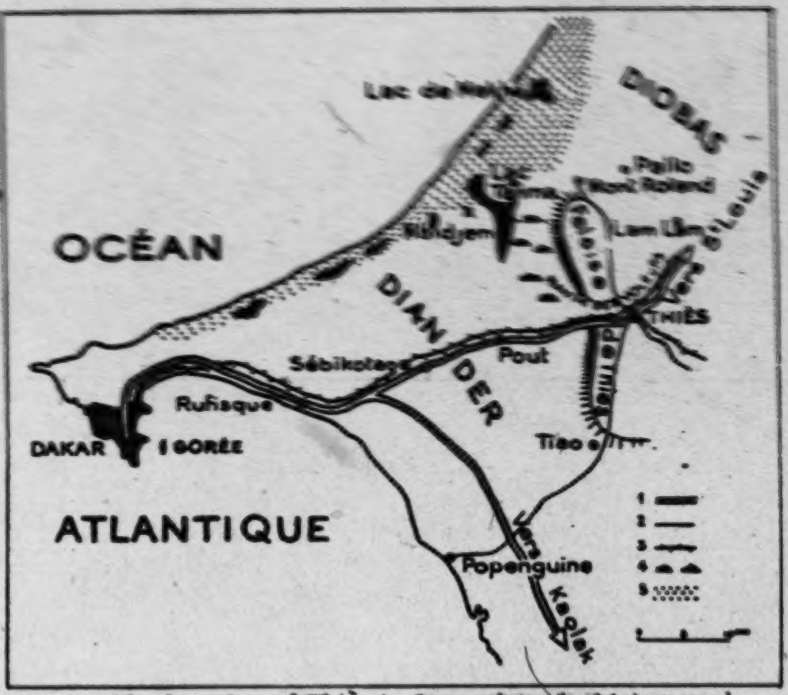

Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

175 369 361 Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to have been a strategic point and support point of primary importance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

175 369 499 244 2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).

The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/173 cont. /

175 369 441 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

[496] [492]

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1886 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.
[162] In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulène (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

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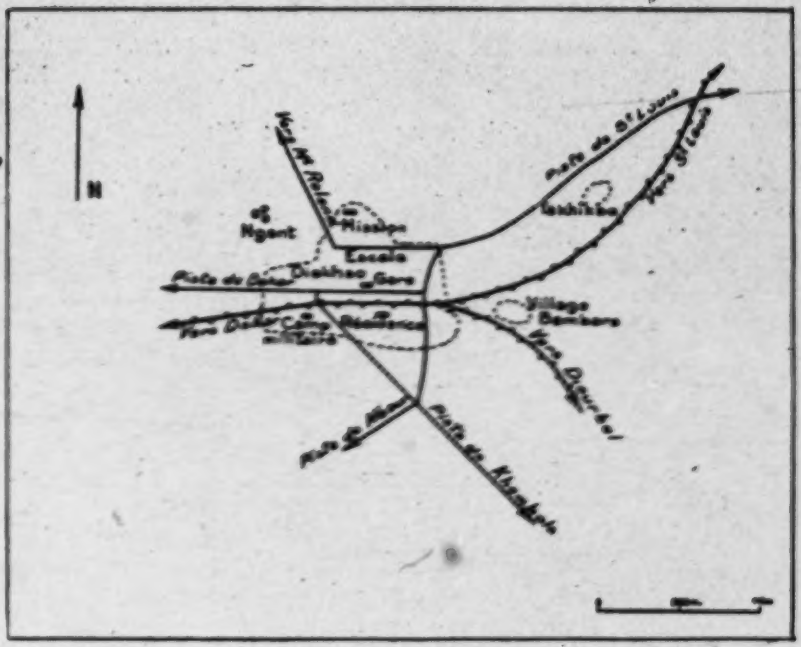

Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

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acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

176 cont.

369 441 563 local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

443 still almost empty quarter of the residence.

369 433 458 Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

[471] [563] The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

369 498 433 At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

369 [162] [511] [36] On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/76 cont./

369 quarters spread out toward the southwest in the vicinity of
361 the workshops; "Derrière la voie ferrée /Behind the Railroad/"
and "Bambara" developed on the outskirts of "Randoulène."

4. Thiès, industrial and strategic city (after 1945).

369 The Second World War temporarily slowed down the
712 economic activity of the city. As in 1914, one saw a /77/
very earnest renewal of the military function: an autonomous motorized detachment (D. M. A.) was established in the old military camp which was considerably enlarged; an air base created a little before 1940 doubled the one of Ouakam installed at the gates of Dakar and now inadequate.

The experience of the last war had demonstrated the possible vulnerability of Dakar. Strategy demanded the formation of a strong base in the rear areas of the capital of French West Africa to support it if the need arose. The location and the proximity of Thiès met these requirements. In order to give maximum effectiveness to this enterprise, the means of communication between the two cities had to be improved, the military camps reorganized and modernized.
[491] A strong and wide road was built between these two cities. Its course was different from that of the old trail; it entered Thiès not from the west but from the south. The military camp covered several dozen hectares, the installations of the air base were improved and enlarged, and the annexes permitted the permanent establishment of officers and troops (Fig. 4).

369 From 1947 to 1952 intense activity prevailed in the
361 city. The entire district, except the old escale, formed a veritable workshop where vast avenues cut across the native quarters, where plazas were created, where zones of green
[498] were distributed. In the industrial precinct of the Dakar-Niger, new workshops intended for the repair of Diesel tractors and the construction of passenger coaches were installed. New villas along more modern lines for officials and railway workers rose almost everywhere in the city. The old escale, paralyzed within too narrow limits, was aroused

/77 cont./

369 and attempted as far as possible to renovate the lines of its
361 architecture and to offer to its clientele pleasant salesrooms with tastefully arranged windows and displays.

The native quarters for their part were enlarged and improved, penetrating deeply into the neighboring bush. The quarters of "Randoulène-Sud" /South Randoulene/, of "Grand Thiès" /Greater Thiès/, and of "Médina" were new creations. Diakhao and Takhikao develop. Some African officials and
[342] merchants have since begun some construction of small villas in durable material that replace the traditional straw hut or the simple plank hut.

[162] The growth of the population was considerable; from 24,000 in 1945, it reached 40,000 inhabitants in 1953, 2,700 of whom were Europeans.

369 Thus, from the founding of the first military post near
433 the village of Thiès-None up to our time, the growth of Thiès has been accomplished without any shocks. It has not known the great hopes of Dakar, the depressions, the failures of Rufisque and Saint-Louis. The /78/ wars, the crises are shown in the graph of its evolution only as simple plateaus (7).

7. G. Savonnet, "Evolution démographique de la ville de Thiès /Demographic Evolution of the City of Thies/," Notes africaines, pp. 122-124.

369 Its fortune, as we have tried to show, comes from its
361 exceptional site at the entrance of the sole path of access to
433 the plateau of Thiès, along with the relative proximity of Dakar. Through the action of these three essential functions, commercial, industrial, and military, it enjoys an economic equilibrium that seems more stable than that of the other cities of Senegal.

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2. The Quarters

1. The quarters of European type.

361 563 If we eliminate the two military bases that offer very special characteristics peculiar to their internal organization, Thiès contains three quarters of Western conception: the Cité Ballabey /Ballabey District/, the Vieille Escale /Old Escale/, the Résidence. While the first shelters a population almost wholly European, in the other two the Whites are in the minority (one White to four Blacks).

No systematic segregation really exists in the city. The Cité Ballabey itself is a district for operatives belonging to the managerial staffs; it is in no way closed to Africans who have reached the rank required by their establishment. Although located near the workshops, it is a quiet zone. Its park is magnificent. The villas there are arranged regularly 351 according to a checkerboard plan in the purest colonial style. [342] Each square of the checkerboard is occupied by a villa divided into two twin and symmetrical apartments; courtyards and gardens extend out on all sides of the dwelling; some mango trees with dense foliage shelter the rabbit hutches, the hen house, and the garage from the heat of the sun. It is easy 341 to date the construction of each of them by its architectural 342 style: the pink brick corresponds to the years 1925-1930; the reinforced concrete, painted light beige, dates from after the war... The quarters of the D. M. A. and of the air base, with some variations, show almost no originality of their own and are comparable to the Cité Ballabey.

The Old Escale presents the appearance of a quarter [363] in a Mediterranean city: narrow streets bordered by storied buildings built out of the white limestone from Bargny: a small, light balcony with a metal balustrade projects over the sidewalk and runs from one end of the building to the other; a very slightly sloping red tile roof under a blue sky accentuates this impression of the Mediterranean world.

351 Each concession, square in plan, forms a regular block of

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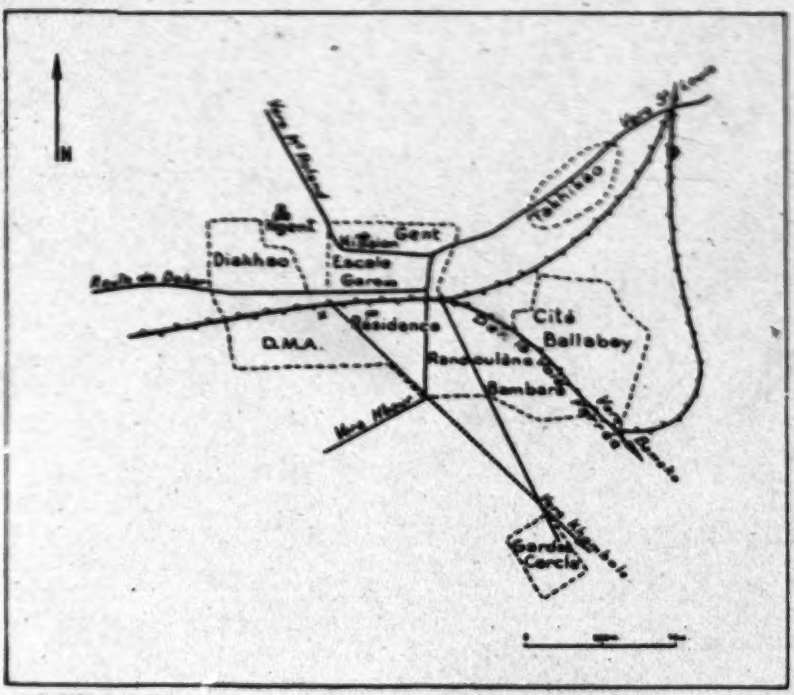

Fig. 3. Thiès in 1940.

351 buildings pierced here and there by a portal which gives access to the courtyards, always littered, of the shop or workshop. /79/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

361 [341] One now sees a modification of this oldish architecture and attempts at renovation. This quarter, built essentially for commercial purposes, did not leave any space free for expansion; no plaza, no small garden offers a pleasant spot in this assemblage dedicated essentially to trade.

The quarter of the Residence is quieter, and also cooler. The arrangement of the settlement pattern is looser; the houses are spread out, and each is separated from its neighbor by a [351] kitchen garden, a courtyard, or a small pleasure garden. Near the administrative buildings care has even been taken to reserve and arrange some public squares in the shade of immense Gambia

/79 cont./

361 mahoganies planted at the end of the last century. The very close presence of the station, and the continual coming and going of locomotives, with strident cries that rend the air, destroys the harmony of these quiet spots of small provincial cities, while attempts are made to recreate them.

361 346 Even more peaceful air is breathed in the Catholic Mission, located to the north of the old "escale." The buildings were constructed at the end of the last century in red laterite, storied buildings /80/ with monastery arcades. They are situated in the middle of a huge garden, always green, extended by a park of magnificent trees. The whole reminds one to some extent of the peaceful site of some metropolitan abbey.

361 563 443 The two business quarters (Old Escale and Residence) present the peculiarity of becoming, according to the time of day, the domain of the European in the evening (at the hour for the apéritif) and on Sundays, and that of the African during the day (while the market is open). A place of contact between the Black and the White, this market occupies a very important place in the life of the African city and merits pausing there a bit.

443 [438] It is on the day of the opening of the groundnut trade (at the beginning of December, for example) that it is proper to visit it. On coming from the station one plunges suddenly into the animation, the dust, the heat, the "sticky" odors of the market. The place is swarming with people where

443 494 the most diverse means of locomotion are squeezed and mingled together: a small cinder-gray donkey, heavily laden, deciding to block the passage of an automobile, despite the beating by its master; a small, light cart with two rubber wheels serving as a taxi and in quest of a possible passenger; a housewife from the neighboring village, her

[482] last-born hanging on her back, and who keeps on her head, in marvelous balance, a calabash full of market produce; a cyclist, poorly balanced on his machine, now and again running into a pedestrian or a vehicle; a truck with impressive loads, which slowly pushes from the road the human

/80 cont./

443 [493] flood rapidly closing in again behind it. All these noisy people carry with them a flavor of the neighboring bush, warm and dusty.

[563] The market of dried fish readily reveals itself by the strong odor that it gives off; farther on is the stall of the butcher for Europeans; very close to it the merchant of the tripe trade who grills some skewers of small pieces on a charcoal fire. Elsewhere the sellers of colas, of condiments and cloth from Guinea, the cobblers offering their products among the very mixed odors in a halo of dust raised by the crowd. It is a delight for the eyes to see, in the bright sunlight under a very clear and pure blue sky, the shimmer of full garments of vivid hues moving with deliberation and majesty.

443 512 The animation reaches its greatest intensity between nine and ten o'clock in the morning; the pedestrian is king, he blocks all traffic. Then, little by little, sellers and buyers disperse, and everyone falls into a blessed torpor at the noon hour. The afternoon is quiet, and at five o'clock each merchant has left his premises. This animation, which has only a temporary character in the commercial quarters of /Plates XI and XII appear here/ /81/ European type, is permanent in certain native quarters, but with a maximum amplitude in the evening after work.

2. The native quarters.

● 361 The native quarters also have their peculiar characteristics, a function of their antiquity, of their proximity or their distance from a center of activity, and, naturally, of the social category of their inhabitants.

[351] Takhikao and Gent were among the first quarters created. Except for the nearness of the road from Thiès to Tivaouane, which attracts the merchants' small shops of planks or straw, they have kept their rural character: dwellings arranged in a loose order, surrounded by an orchard protected by a tapade /walling/ of branches or stalks of millet.

[Text continues on p. 18]

18: Savonnet--16 | E-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 M537 Senegal #537
/Between pp. 80 and 81./

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A. Thiès. Quarter of Derrière-la-voie-ferrée. Juxtaposition of houses of mud covered with sheet metal, sheet metal, and of straw.

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B. The site of one of the oldest mosques of Thiès: quarter of Takhikao.

/81 cont./

361 millet. The old people assemble in the evening under the
517 large silk-cotton tree that shades the old crumbling mosque of
312 Takhikao. The women chatter while awaiting their turn to
draw water at the common well, while the children play in
342 the sand. Gent stands out because of a series of small, low
houses with a rectangular base and a roof of corrugated metal,
all identical and set along the trail that leads to the marigot
351 /watercourse/ of the mission. A garden and a courtyard, al-
563 ways littered with laundry, characterize each concession. It
is the quarter of Portuguese half-breeds called "portugalais"
(Plates XI B and XII A).

Diakhao-Nord /North Diakhao/, quiet, airy, arranged
363 according to a strict plan of lots, contrasts with Diakhao-Sud
with narrow, winding lanes bordered on all sides by tapades
of millet stalks and noisy in the evening. The proximity of
275 the two military bases has made it a place where one amuses
525 himself with all that this includes in the way of drinking
579 shops and more or less clandestine gambling dens. Brawls be-
tween drunken men are not rare in these places.

Randoulène, Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, and Bambara,
which form a unique quarter, homogeneous in its density and
in the heterogeneity of its dwellings, have become established
in the immediate vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The
342 huts of planks, mud, or straw stand one against the other along
363 the winding lanes laid out according to the desire of the
moment and not without some imagination. These lanes are
373 noisy with people, and even late at night they walk between
the small shopkeepers' stalls lighted with smoking candle ends.
351 The dense crowd flows over the edges of the street and enters
the interior of the courtyards. The latter, covering barely
463 a few square meters, often serve as a workshop for the
252 weaver, the blacksmith, or the jeweler, and as a kitchen for
the housewives of the neighboring huts; it is not rare to see
half a dozen millet pounders there, pounding their mortars
in rhythm in groups of two or three. This is also the gathering
517 place /82/ /Fig. 4 appears here/ of workers, where, after
524 work, sitting in the sand amidst the dust and the noise, in a

/82 cont./

35 [517] [524] [364] heat heavily laden with the most diverse odors, they play cards or checkers. There is no question in such crowded quarters of removing all the household rubbish and used water. It is frequent in the course of walks within this zone to run into piles of refuse or to cross several ditches full of stagnant, dirty, and malodorous water. Sometimes at a bend in a street one is surprised to discover some straw huts in the middle of a spacious courtyard (Plate XI A).

● 361 351 The quarters of the south, newly divided into lots, remind one of that of North Diakhao with its embryos of streets intersecting at a right angle, /83/ its huts arranged in a loose order inside each square and huddled in the shade of mango trees.

Each concession of Médina, in distinct geometric forms, marked off by tapades of millet stalks, is of a meticulous neatness that contrasts with the other quarters of the city. [795] This strict order, this rigid arrangement where all imagination is banished, is a reflection of the peculiar character of the Moslem Murid sect that occupies it.

361 The Cité Pillot, finally, built for the higher operatives and the specialized workers of the Dakar-Niger, to the south of the Bamako railroad, gives the appearance of a series of buildings that resemble those of barracks. The arrangement [342] of the new constructions is that of small houses with twin apartments.

369 Thus, each of the European-type quarters, like the native quarters, possesses some particular trait or even its own individuality, which seems to correspond to a definite social structure: milieu of merchants, millieu of officials, milieu of artisans, of laborers, of cultivators.

At the same time, each stage of its evolution has stamped this or that part of the city with its original imprint, which makes it possible to follow quite easily the successive periods of its expansion.

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[361] "Dakar is the only city, in the European (or Western) sense, in all of West Africa," wrote D. Wittlesey in 1941 (1).

1. Derwint Wittlesey, "Dakar and other Cap Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, 1941, p. 609.

[113]

Things have changed since then; Conakry, Bamako, Abidjan, and other centers have become true cities. It is incontestable [162] that the 230,000 inhabitants counted in the census in 1955, of [563] whom more than 30,000 were non-Africans, make Dakar the most important city in all of the Black Africa of French expression. In 1957 its port had more traffic than all the other ports [505] of former French West Africa; in 1960, 8,000 vessels, with a capacity of 21,000,000 tons (2), put it among the most frequented

2. The official figures are 7,948 vessels and 20,992,111 tons.

[162] ports of Africa. But 50 years ago Dakar did not have 25,000 inhabitants. The rhythm of its growth is thus on a level with that of certain mushrooming cities in the United States of America. Dakar does not owe this extraordinarily rapid development solely to favorable natural conditions, as is often said, but also and especially to a complex interaction of historical, economic, and political factors. It is a crossroads born out of the effective integration of the African world and South America in the European economic system, an integration linked with the search for raw materials and markets, made possible and necessary by the great technical progress realized since the middle of the nineteenth century. City-crossroads, all of its vitality depends on the state of its relations.

[133] 1. Birth of Dakar. The head of the peninsula of Cape Verde, on which Dakar was established, is an assemblage of

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369 plateaus made up of two volcanic systems of different ages,
133 separated by a small, low plain, the whole tilting toward the east-northeast. This head of the penisula is savagely attacked by oceanic floods which create on these coasts many capes and little bays, as well as some little detached islands not very far away. It is in one of these little bays, the bay called Dakar,
361 the most extensive and the best protected, that the great modern
369 port is located, between Pointe de la Défense and Pointe de Bel-Air (Fig. 1).[1] Incontestably, this head of the peninsula makes a favorable site for a port city, a site whose equal would be sought in vain in West Africa (Fig. 2).[2]

131 /373/ But even more than the site, it is the location of
361 this forward cape of Africa that constitutes a trump of the first
369 order in the cards of Dakar. Crossed by the north parallel 14°
487 40' and located at the center of curvature of the great western bulge of the African continent, almost halfway between the 30th degree north where the desert begins and the regions of the Bénin, former slave-dealers, the peninsula occupied an interesting position in the former navigational system of the central and southern Atlantic, for both the ships coming from the north and those coming from the south. It was in fact chosen as the first place of easy reprovisioning for the sailors who had traveled for several days along a desert-like coast from south of Morocco, while, for the ships coming from the Gulf of Guinea, it was the last place for provisioning available before the Canaries. Moreover, the tip of the peninsula is the most westerly of all the headlands of the Old World. Cape Dunemore in Ireland, which is the most westerly in Europe, does not go beyond 11° west of Greenwich, whereas the peninsula of Cape Verde goes beyond 17° west, even reaching 17° 32' 16" at Cape Almadies. Dakar is thus more than 500 kilometers west of Casablanca (3); it is

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3. Marcel M. Chartier, "Dakar, Port aérien /Dakar, aerial port/," in Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1948, p. 87.

[1] [See Category 116, p. 5--Analyst]
[2] [See Category 116, p. 11--Analyst]

/373/

369 36 [131 487] therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10). [113]

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and, on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a gerontotheocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5). [133] 369 175 [579]

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La [113]

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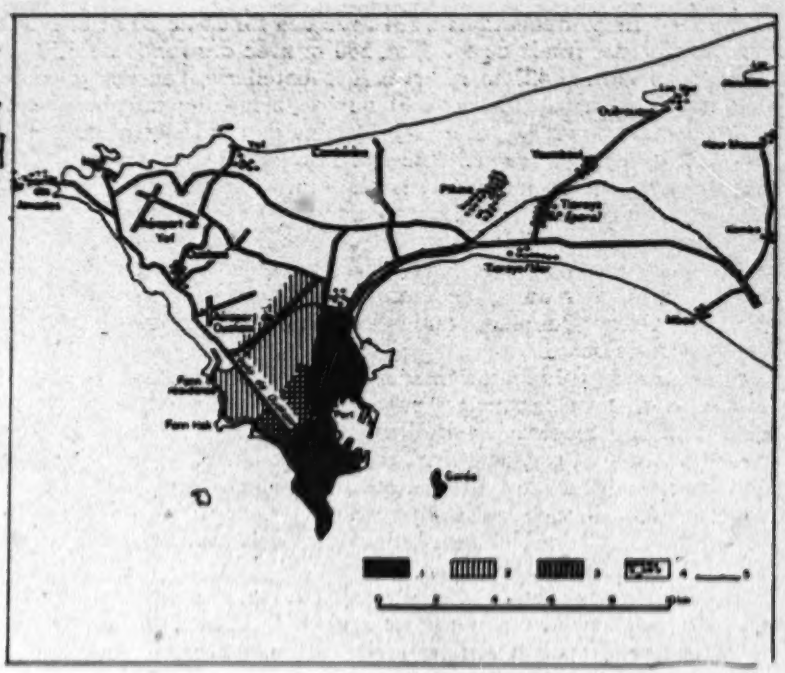

Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

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groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

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The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

20: Seck -- 15 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 380-381/ Plate XXI

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A. Gorée. Photo. IFAN.

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B. A view of Dakar (photograph taken from the Past[illegible] Building). Photo [illegible] Seck.

/384 cont./

369 in the city at the home of a relative, at the home of a friend
563 or the friend or relative of a friend, or at the home of a resi-
166 dent originally from the same village or merely from the same
162 region — all of this ultimately makes up the factors that are
464 more decisive than the salary. Because of this, while among the resident non-African the number of persons employed amounts to 42 % of the total and 84% of the economically active, among the resident Africans, the proportion of workers is no more than 27% of the total and 42% /385/ of the economically active. If one adds to that the salaries, on the average
369 much higher among the first than among the second, one finds
511 in Dakar some of the contrasts characteristic of West African
563 cities: on the one hand, among the non-Africans, a high standard of living which is often shown in the appearance of their quarters, and, on the other hand, the mass of the African population whose settling in the city is tied neither to a correlative augmentation of the normal opportunities for lodgings nor to a higher living standard in relation to the bush, which gives to the African city, or at least to some of its quarters, an appearance more wretched than that of the villages of the interior.

369 This situation, formerly very clear, put Dakar in the
563 normal category of West African cities, where a white city and
[361] a black city stand in contrast (22), a contrast that was the result

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22. Dresh, J., "Villes d'Afrique occidentale /Cities of West Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 1950.

of a de facto segregation imposed, not by law, but by the norms of urbanism and of hygiene, to which it was impossible for the bulk of the natives to subject themselves, and also by the high price of rent — the non-African being nearly always lodged by their employer. In 1936 Charles Monod wrote: "Formerly Europeans and natives lived mixed. Innumerable families lived

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in small apartments, true caravanseries contained within the European city. This promiscuity was deplorable. Europeans and natives were not in fact subject to the same epidemics: yellow fever, for example, fatal for the white, is benign to the black. The danger of a mixed population was that the epidemics would spread without being stamped out in time. Finally, the system lacked style: therefore as early as 1916 the creation of the native village of Médina was decided upon" (23).

23. Monnié, Ch., "Dakar," op. cit., p. 638.

There it was, in a way, the theory of the urbanism of the West African cities ! Nevertheless the problems of land were so complicated at Dakar (24) between the two world wars

24. See the work by A. Angrand. Les Lébou de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert (Essai sur leur histoire et leurs coutumes) /The Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde (essay on their history and their customs)/. "La Maison du Livre," Dakar.

that, with the Lebano-Syrian immigration and the Crédit Foncier /Mortgage-loan Society/ helping, there was created, in contact with the European city and the Médina, a collection of quarters more mixed in their contents and in their appearance. Up to the end of the Second World War Dakar preserved this appearance of a threefold city. But after the war a series of new factors caused a rapid and brutal evolution in Dakar. The return to normal economic activities after the dark period following the war, the awakening and amplification of political and cultural life, the creation of the Fonds d'Investissement Economique et Social (F.I.D.E.S.), and, finally, the ever greater influx of rural people into Dakar led the federal authorities to take a series of fortunate initiatives. /386//Fig. 4 appears here/

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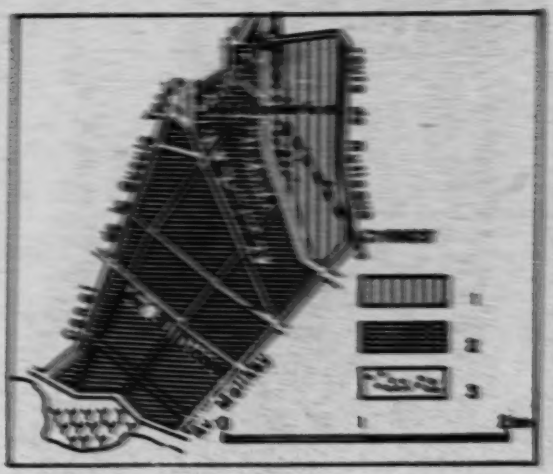

Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone:
2. quarters more or less urbanized:
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service
temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a syste-
matic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision
to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while
a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du
Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[364] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere rent-
ing or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law
called "Lamine Guèye," which equalized (overt several
[445] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time
when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[447] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of African and
European in the administrative lodging and in the new quarters
for officials. Finally, first the mail-law and then autonomy

/386 cont./

369 563 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mixing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Medina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 369 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale [366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has remained very much as it was at the beginning of the century: [363] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in [347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings [341] with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce dominated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms. [44] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., U.A.C.A.O., S.O.C.I.P.A.O., [344] Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kermel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1890 style. Several old administrative

/387 cont./

361 369 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lebon families, having benefited from the facilities offered [407] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty, 366 369 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

369 361 Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly [543] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from [402] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by the monumental Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged [344]

/388 cont./

369 as the Plateau. The low quarters that border the avenue Malick
●367 Sy and which are crossed by the route de l'Abbattoir /Slaughter-
[363] house Road/ quite obviously differ from the rest. In Rebeus and
[364] in Niayes-Thioker, few of the streets are paved, and, during winter, ponds where household debris rots often surround the low permanent houses and the neighboring huts.

[162] Dakar-ville has only 46,000 inhabitants, among whom
[563] are almost two-thirds of the 30,000 non-Africans of Dakar.

Gorée, the fallen capital, which has become a military, tourist, and, to a slight extent, residential annex of Dakar, is attached to this section.

[563] 2. The Médina. Containing practically only Africans,
[764] the Médina is much more densely populated than Dakar-ville. Blocked on the west by the Moslem cemetery and on the north by the canal of the Gueule-Tapée, the Médina has not ceased stretching toward the east since its creation during the First World War. It presents several aspects: the oldest part, east
[363] of the avenue Blaise-Diagne, has all of its streets paved and planted with trees; it has few huts, and permanent houses are
[364] erected almost everywhere there; many sanitary facilities and public fountains complement the private establishments and make this quarter relatively clean and pleasant (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXII B).

The farther one goes toward the east, however, beyond the avenue Blaise-Diagne, the newer the quarter is and the more it gives the appearance of a wretched village. Thus, between
[363] the avenue Blaise-Diagne and the Gendarmerie, although some
[364] principal arteries are paved, most of the streets remain sandy and obstructed with household rubbish. Moreover, one notes some permanent houses here and there, to be sure, but huts are much more numerous. East of the Gendarmerie, Colobane is even less well arranged, while, beyond the automobile road, Kip-Coco and Quartier Mous, veritable camp cities for new arrivals, are called "irregular quarters," that is to say, quarters temporarily tolerated, although no right of the inhabitants to settle there can be recognized (Pl. XXIII A)./Pl. XXIII and

[See Category 116, p. 16 -- Ann/Mar]
[See Category 116, p. 29 -- Ann/Mar]

/388 cont./

369 Pl. XXIV appear here on unnumbered pages/. /389/ /Fig. 5
361 appears here./

3. Greater Dakar. Of all the sectors of the Dakar agglomeration, Greater Dakar is certainly the one that presents the sharpest contrasts. The quarter of the "Gueule-Tapée" resembles the old Médina, while Fass and "Usine Biscuit" /Biscuit Factory/ remind one of Colobane, but aside from these there stand some modern quarters that are quite varied in appearance, contrasting strongly with the "Médinas," the "Colobanes," and the irregular
[893] quarters that surround them. It is in this sector of Greater Dakar that the University is found, raising its majestic buildings on the edge of the sea. It is flanked on the north by the rich quarter of Fann-Résidence where the residences of ministers and members of their cabinets, directors of houses of commerce, and high officials are grouped; to the south military villas and the allotment of Fann Hock separate it from the Gueule-Tapée. Point E, Zone A, Zone B, /390/ the Cité des Douanes /customs/, and that of the Port de Commerce are officials' quarters, while Bopp, formerly a swamp, has in recent years become a pretty little quarter, all the houses of which were built by officials
[452] with the aid of the Crédit du Sénégal /Local Association of Senegal/. The S.I.C.A.P. which extend along the route des Puits /Roads of the Wells/ (Karacks, Baobabs, Liberté I, Liberté II, Liberté III, etc.) are pleasant lots intended to facilitate for Africans the acquisition of property (Fig. 5).

Finally, the quarter of Derklé forms, in several groupings of houses, a residence for petty African officials, another one for the African employees of private enterprises, and finally a quarter called the "Castors," the houses of which have been built by their associated and grouped owners with the aid of the public authorities.

[64] Greater Dakar is the most extensive and the heaviest popu-
[523] lated sector in the Dakar agglomeration. It includes more than 73,000 inhabitants, among whom is numbered one-sixth of the non-African population.

[Text continues bottom of p. 31--Analyst]

20: Seck--30 U-5 (no date) 1961 MS37 Senegal MS37

/Between pp. 388-389/ Plate XXIV

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A. Yoff, suburb of fishermen.

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B. Thiaroye, truck-gardening suburb.

Photo. Assane Seck.

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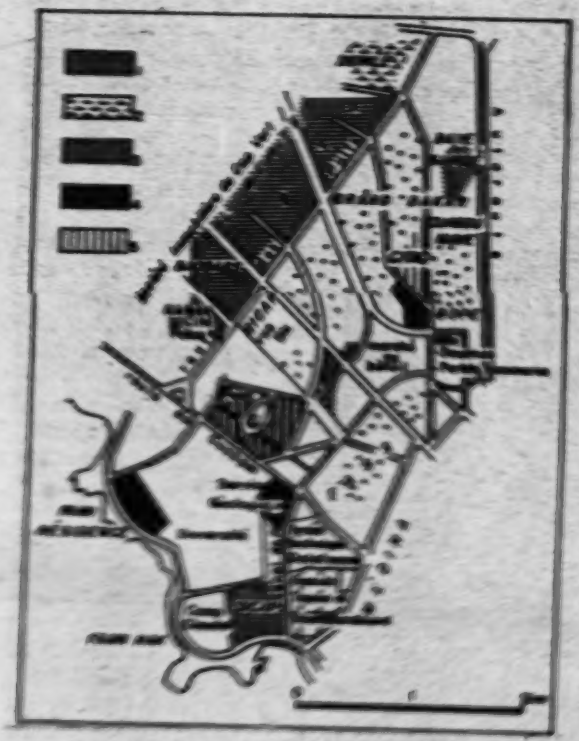

Fig. 5. Greater Dakar. -- 1. Officials' quarter; 2. Derklé; 3. H.L.M.; 4. homes of officials; 5. loan grouping.

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4. The suburbs. The suburbs of Dakar are composed of 13 villages, of which those closest to Dakar, Ouakam, N'Gor, Yoff, Hann, Thiaroye, and M'Bao resemble Colobane. The others remain typical traditional villages. Only Dagoudane-Pikine escapes either category. Created ex nihilo less than ten years ago to serve as an outlet for the irregulars of Dakar who were to be found there, driven back as urbanism progressed, it already has the appearance of a little city with its 10,000 inhabitants.

[62]

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361 369 [363] inhabitants. It had an official center and wide streets, which, however, are not yet paved. Despite this city appearance, however, Pikine is more intimately dependent on Dakar than the other villages of the suburbs; it is a workman's suburb, and all of its provisioning comes from Dakar, while practically all of its inhabitants are employed in the great city. With this exception, the villages of the suburbs have as their essential [438] role the provisioning of Dakar with fish and fresh vegetables. Many transportation facilities in common connect them with [489] Dakar-ville from very early in the morning until around the middle of the night (Pl. XXIII B, Pl. XXIV A and B).

This is the arrangement or juxtaposition of the various elements of the Dakar agglomeration, whose present popula- [162] tion may well have exceeded 300,000 inhabitants.

369 4. Perspectives. The Dakar agglomeration has the appearance of an unfinished city in the process of being organized, even though its function as a West African metropolis has been confirmed for a long time. There are surprises in this situation for those who analyze the old European urban civilizations, where one sees an ancient city existing as /391/ /Fig. 6 appears here/ one that patiently developed its relations in order to become a metropolis and to constitute a solid and dynamic assemblage where urban and metropolitan functions mutually support one another. Dakar, however, is above 369 all a center of relations which has woven with its hinterland 439 connections that have the appearance of complementary ties, 433 but which actually are ties of dependence: dependence in fact because in the Senegalese and Sudanese interior the development of export crops is tied up with the means of evacuation organized by Dakar; dependence also because the export crops, in breaking up the former village autarchy, have given Dakar the role of a great relay-station in the importation of food products in compensation and manufactured products which have become a necessity there where formerly they were unknown; dependence, finally, not only for the Senegalese and

22 Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal M537
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FIG. 47. Senegal

[Facing P. 395 (1)]

[pp. i–xvi and pp. 1–394 not processed]

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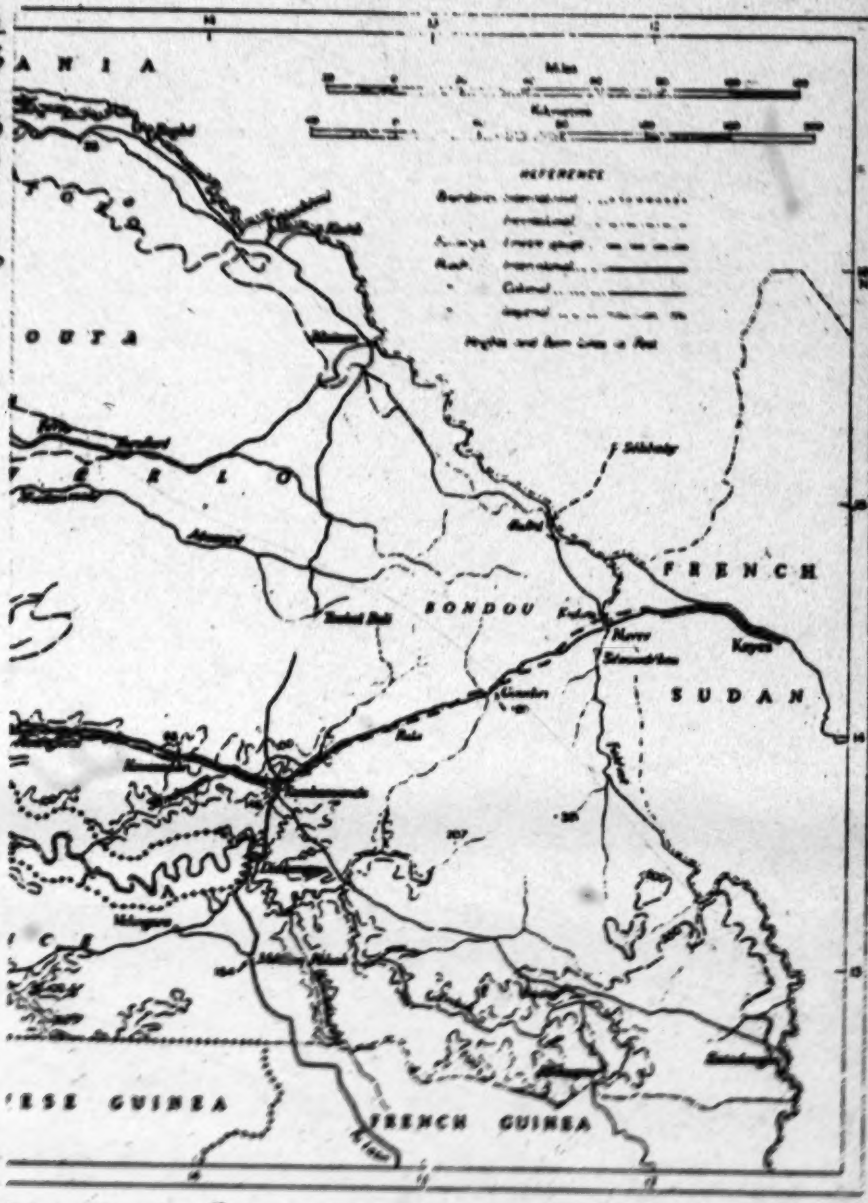

Fig. 67. Senegal

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133 to an average height of some 130 feet. Rocky outcrops frequently break its lateritic surface, and the rise from the valleys is invariably abrupt.

The south-east of the colony is mainly the basin of the Gambia, but some parts are drained to the Falémé. Much land is over 300 feet, and, as the surface rises to the Palaeozoic sandstones and pre-Cambrian quartzites of Fouta Jalon, the valleys of the Gambia and of its tributaries, the Nieri Mango, the Niocolo Koba, and the Koulountou, are proportionately deeper. The side valleys of the first two, indeed, are little more than very narrow gullies. Just east of the 13th meridian steep hills rise on either side of the Gambia itself, and, some 15 miles west of Kédougou, a broken spur strikes north from French Guinea. Upon it heights of over 1,300 feet rise above scarps of 300 or 400 feet, and, although the river now beheads its northern end, it has forced the Gambia to take a great northward loop. East of Kédougou the country is more open, for the intercolonial boundary follows the scarps that mark the northern limits of Fouta Jalon.

3. THE COAST

The total distance from the Mauritanian boundary to Cape Roxo is 333 miles, but 40 miles of this are in the Gambia. The coast of Senegal may be divided into four unequal parts: the mouth of the Senegal river, the smooth curve that flanks the interior plain, the Cape Verde peninsula, and the creeks and estuaries of the south.

The Canary current sets southward along the northern part of the coast, but south of Cape Verde it varies with the seasons. From January to June it flows south or south-east, from June to August north or north-west, and in late August east. During the rest of the year it is variable.

Swell is strong and surf is heavy.

The Langue de Barbarie to the Cape Verde Peninsula

The Langue de Barbarie is some 27 miles long and has been built by the combined efforts of the Canary current and the Senegal. For its last 15 miles it is nowhere more than half a mile wide and it separates the river from the sea. St. Louis (p. 440) stands on an island in the river, but has three suburbs, two on the Langue de Barbarie and one on the mainland. From this mainland suburb, Bar, the railway begins its journey to Dakar. Across the mouth of the

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

river is a sandy bar which sometimes prevents entry by ships for several weeks on end. After this the coast stretches south-south-westwards in a gentle curve of sandy beach. There are dunes along the shore, and, inland from them, the marshy depression already described on p. 397. There are very few villages and, indeed, very few landmarks of any kind. Seventy-four miles from the mouth of the Senegal the village of Kayar is perceptible from the sea. It is connected to Rufisque (17 miles) by a colonial road, and immediately south of it is Lake M'Baouar, which is seldom or never without water. After Kayar the coast trends more definitely south-west. Lake Retba, whose north-eastern end is 6½ miles from Kayar, is a permanent salt lake fed by the sea. There are other lakes and swamps behind the littoral dunes. On the coast itself stands another village, Cambérène, which is 22½ miles from Kayar and behind which rise the Petites Mamelles. These are three grey, isolated, sandy knolls, and they mark the beginning of the Cape Verde peninsula (Fig. 48).

The Cape Verde Peninsula and Goree Bay

Yof island (Plate 108), 3¼ miles west of Cambérène, stands off the village (Plate 109) of the same name. The beach on the mainland is accessible to surf-boats in all weathers. Just west of the village is a cable hut, where cables are landed, and a tarmac road runs southwards to Ouakam and Dakar. The coast is now more indented, and, 2½ miles south-west of Yof, is a ledge of rocks which joins the shore to Ngor island and behind which is the village of Ngor. Three-quarters of a mile farther west the coast turns almost due south to reach Almadi point (Plate 110), the extreme west of the mainland of Africa. There is a lighthouse on a rock three-quarters of a mile out to sea. Cape Verde itself is 2 miles to the south-east of Almadi point, and behind it are two conical hills called the Mamelles. It was the stunted brushwood on these hills that gave the cape its name. From here to Cape Manuel the coast continues its south-easterly direction, being formed of red cliffs and small sandy beaches. Fann point, 3¾ miles from Cape Verde, marks the north-western end of Madeleines bay, which washes the south-western side of Dakar (p. 444). Some 2 miles south-west are the four Madeleines islands, all of which are rocky and three of which are inaccessible. At Cape Manuel, which is 131 feet high, the coast turns sharply north to form Bernard bay. North of Dakar is Hann bay, and both of these small bays are on the western side of Goree bay. This is generally considered to stretch from Cape Manuel to Cape Rouge, and in it,

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

1½ miles off shore from Dakar, is the historic island of Goree (p. 449). The bay is protected by the Cape Verde peninsula and affords good anchorage at a depth of 11 fathoms, and its beaches provide numerous landing-points for ships' boats.

The village of Hann, in the middle of the shore of Hann bay, is a

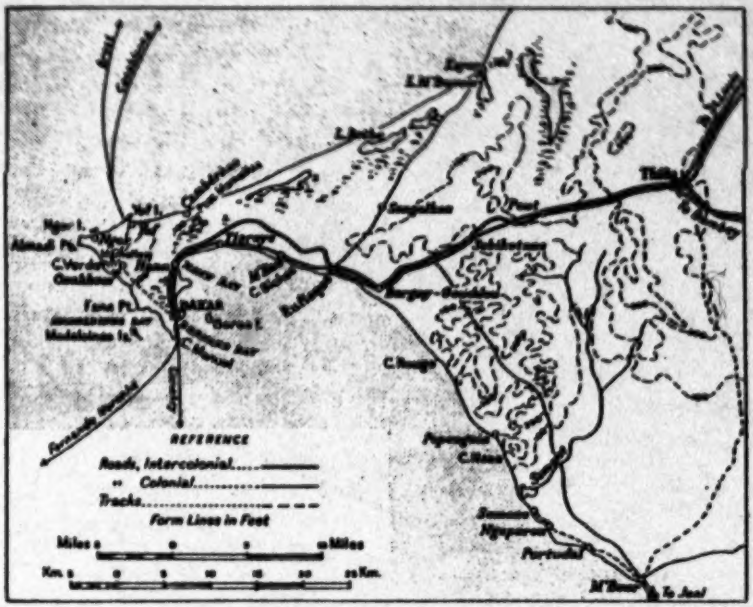

FIG. 48. *The Cape Verde Peninsula*

seaside resort for the inhabitants of Dakar. There is also a botanical garden. The intercolonial road and the railway run near the sea and are never far from it until they pass Bargny-Gouddou. North-east of Hann there is a narrow lagoon between the sea and the road, and the coast bears away north-east, east, and east-south-east for the 11 miles to Rufisque (p. 449). There is much marshland, and the sole feature of note is Cape Biches, a low promontory 2 miles before the town. Bargny-Gouddou is 3 miles east-south-east of Rufisque, and beyond it the coast is cut up by creeks and lagoons, which have small seasonal rivers running into them. Behind them are scattered sandhills which rise eastwards to hills of 200 and 300 feet. Cape Rouge, which barely projects into the sea, has red cliffs intersected by wooded ravines.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

Cape Rouge to Sangomar Point

The hills are near the shore at least as far as the Somone, but the shoreline is fringed with sandy beaches and occasional mangrove swamps. Popenguin, 6 miles from Cape Rouge, has a Roman Catholic church, and, 1½ miles farther, Cape Naze rises to 236 feet. Inland there is a hill of 400 feet. Three miles beyond the cape the river Somone finds its way to the sea through a patch of mangrove-woodland. The coast runs south-eastwards by means of a series of small bays, and the country is more settled and cultivated. A number of sandspits can also be distinguished. These have been built by the prevailing current, and they have either blocked or diverted the short streams and marigots. From the village of Somone, which is a little distance from the river of that name, there is a minor road to Ngaparou, Portudal, and M'Bour (p. 450). Portudal's great days are over, but ships can still anchor about 3½ miles off shore in a depth of 5½ fathoms. There is a reef to seaward of the beach, but west of the village a break allows access to a creek, where landing is possible. There are many other reefs and shoals off this part of the coast. Inland, the road is continued near the shore to Joal, but in many places its surface is very rough indeed. Two miles beyond M'Bour the Balling, a seasonal river, meets the sea, and, 3 miles farther still, is Nianing, a local centre for tracks. From here the coast runs almost due south to Sarène point, a low and sandy promontory. After this the road goes inland a little to avoid a shallow bight, heavily fringed with mangroves and crossed by several marshy streams. South of this, and 1 mile north of Senti point, is the village of Ngazobil, conspicuous by reason of its Roman Catholic church. Joal (p. 450) is 2½ miles farther south-east. From this place onwards the coast is extremely swampy and is cut up by creeks and estuaries. Only the principal features can be noted here.

Eleven and a half miles beyond Joal stands the little village of Diakhanor. This marks the northern end of a strip of land which is strongly reminiscent of the Langue de Barbarie. It has been built by the Saloum and the sea, and it separates them for about 10 miles. An old mouth of the river is clearly observable 6 miles south of Diakhanor, and the end of the strip is called Sangomar point.

Sangomar Point to the Frontier of the Gambia

The Saloum is navigable upstream for sea-going vessels for about 100 miles, and on its banks and those of its tributary the Sine

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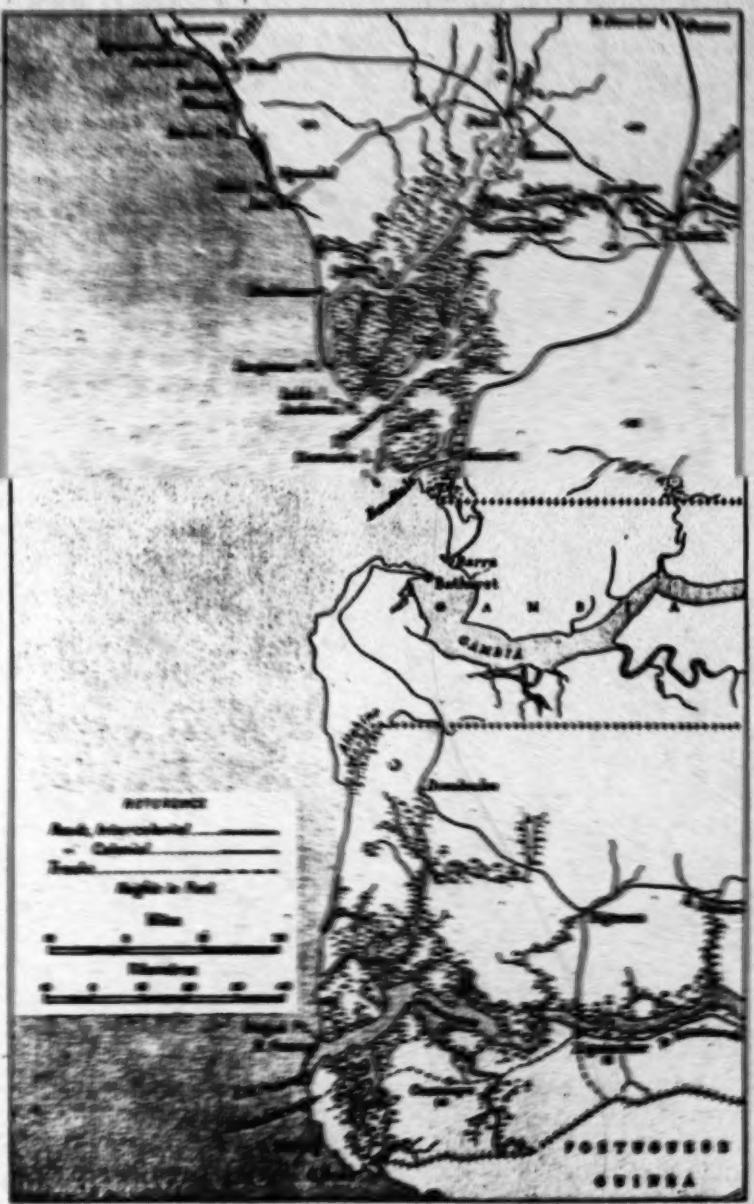

FIG. 49. *Senegal: the Coast from Ngaparou to Cape Roxo*

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are the ports of Foundiougne (p. 451), Lyndiane, Kaolack (p. 452), and Fatik (p. 451). Its entrance is obstructed by a bar of shifting sandbanks. The principal channel, the New Passage, is immediately east of Sangomar point and has a width of 650 feet and a depth of 21½ feet. Inside the bar the river is rather deeper. Four miles south-south-east of Sangomar point is Sable island, 2½ miles east of which is Jackonna point. This marks the west side of the imposing estuary of the Djombos, which is a distributary of the Saloum, but which is also connected to the Bandiala and the Gambia. Southwards there are many shoals and several islands, and navigation is difficult. The largest of these islands is 3 miles long and its northern tip is 7 miles from Jackonna point. Its southern tip is almost opposite another wide estuary, the Bandiala, the source or terminus of a score of muddy creeks. Four miles south-east of this estuary is the frontier of the Gambia. The next 40 miles of coast are, therefore, in British territory.

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Allahine River to Cape Roxo

It has already been noticed that the Allahine (San Pedro) river forms the international frontier between the Gambia and Senegal. The mouth of this river is blocked by sandbanks, so that it connects with the sea only at high tide. For the next 18 miles the coast is flat and treeless, with white sandy beaches on which the sea breaks heavily. There are no landing-points, and off-shore depths are very shallow. After that there are some minor waterways, and, 33 miles from the Allahine, Diogué point marks the northern shore of the estuary of the Casamance. This river, 2 miles wide at its mouth, is navigable as far as Ziguinchor (p. 453) for vessels drawing 15 feet, and as far as Sedhiou (p. 454) and Kolda for smaller craft; but the last 35 miles of its course are through mangrove swamps. The entrance to the estuary is partly blocked by a bar, but there are two places where this may be crossed. One of these, the North Passage, is off Diogué point and has a depth of 13½ feet, and the other, the South-West Passage, is 1½ feet deeper. The coast that faces this passage has a low sandy beach backed by dunes, and the village of Diembering, 8 miles south-south-west of Diogué point, is behind these dunes. The coast curves gradually south-eastwards, still exhibiting the same features but with a number of shallow bays, and between Cape Skiring and Cape Roxo there are many rocks off shore. The latter cape is also low and sandy, and it marks the international frontier with Portuguese Guinea.

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4. CLIMATE

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Meteorological Stations mentioned in Text and Table

	Latitude N.	Longitude W.	Altitude in feet
Podor			
St. Louis			
Matam			
Linguère			
Kédougou			
Thiès			
Kaolack			
Dakar			
Kaolack			
Tambacounda			
Kédougou			
Ziguinchor			

Like that of French Guinea, the colony's climatic year is divided into two distinct periods: a dry season from October to May, and a wet season from June to September. The former has north-east winds, generally clear skies, and a large range of temperature; and the latter, introduced by tornadoes, is more equable and has south-westerly winds, much cloud, and high humidity. Imposed upon this general pattern is the influence of the trade winds, which, in the dry season, keep the coast north of Dakar cooler and moister than the interior. The weeks immediately preceding the wet season are very oppressive.

Pressure (Fig. 58)

Senegal lies between the belts of northern tropical high pressure and equatorial low pressure. Although the movements of these two are very considerable during the course of a year, the local effect is negligible. Fig. 58 shows that surface pressure lies between 1012 mb. and 1014 mb. all the year, and that seasonal changes are concerned rather with the direction in which it decreases. The gradient in January is from north to south, but in July it is from south-west to north-east. Extreme variations are within 3 mb. on either side of the means.

TABLE I. *Mean Daily Pressure* (1000+ millibars) *reduced to sea-level and corrected to 32° F. and latitude 45°*

Station	J.	F.	M.	A.	M.	J.	J.	A.	S.	O.	N.	D.	Year	Annual Range
St. Louis	15	16	17	17	16	16	15	15	16	16	16	15	16	3
Dakar	15	16	17	17	17	15	16	16	16	16	15	15	16	3
Kaolack	11	12	09	09	09	10	13	11	11	11	11	11	11	4
Ziguinchor	16	17	17	17	17	15	14	15	15	16	16	15	16	3

22:Winterbotham et al. X-6 (no date) 1944 MSS? Senegal MS 37

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112. *Goree*

[facing p. 417]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37 Wolof MS30

S 147 with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European S [164] priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and S [365] teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des S [162] Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

S *Senegal*

161 Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely S [311] settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, 361 supports a fairly dense agricultural population.

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than S it does at present.

162 *Natives.* More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are 563 among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, W and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. [162] There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, [101] and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

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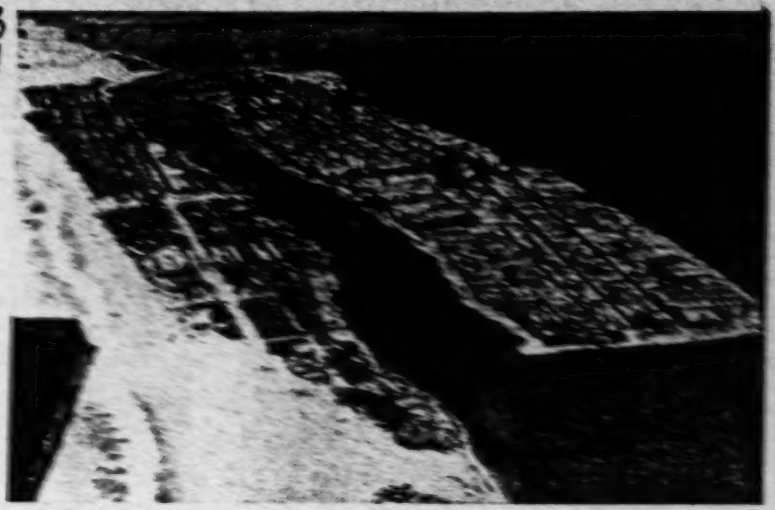

114. *St. Louis*

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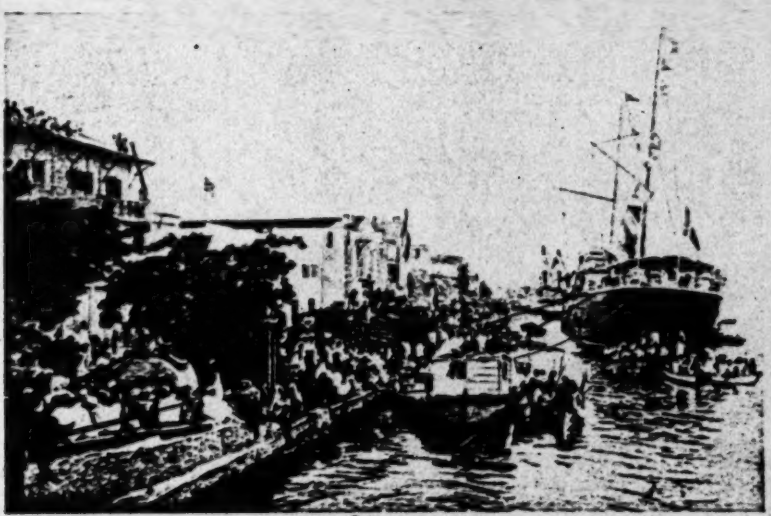

115. *St. Louis: the North Quay*

[facing p. 433]

22nWinterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
ST. Louis

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 M5 [489] [103] Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1638 a settlement was founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by [648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92), the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations [964] and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 361 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

30 yards. Immediately east of it is the Place St. Germain, on the south-west side of which stands the main railway station. 36 | 0

The western side of the Langue de Barbarie has been reinforced by groynes and a sea-wall.

The town as a whole is well planned, and it has many shops and offices.

Trade

The chief exports are oil-seeds and skins. Imports are mainly manufactured goods. In 1937 the former weighed 30,400 tons and were valued at 31,600,000 francs (£253,990), and the latter weighed 8,300 tons and were valued at 11,900,000 francs (£95,640). 439

Description of Port

Anchorages. Outside the bar at the river mouth there is anchorage in 9–11 fathoms. Inside it there is again a depth of 11 fathoms, which gradually decreases until it is 5 fathoms just below Faidherbe Bridge. 504 [133]

Quays. The principal quays are on the east side of the island. North Quay (Plate 115), above Faidherbe Bridge, is 1,050 feet long, and South Quay, below it, is 1,770 feet long with an alongside depth of 12 fathoms. At the harbour station in Sor there is a jetty 600 feet long with a wharf at its head. There are four small piers on the island, whose positions are shown in Fig. 53.

Equipment. There is a steam crane some 600 yards above the North Quay and a slipway a little higher still. Minor repairs can be effected, but facilities are generally poor.

Fuel. A small stock of coal is kept, but no oil.

Communications

Rail. There are three railway stations (p. 467) in Sor, and the main station is the terminus of the line to Dakar (Route 1). 498

Road. The intercolonial road to Thiès (124 miles) and Dakar (168 miles) starts from the Place St. Germain and then turns south when clear of the goods station. At this point the Imperial road branches off north-east to Rosso (66 miles) and ultimately to Tindouf (1,315 miles). There is a bus service twice a week to and from Matam and Nayes. 491 494

Air. The airfield is 3½ miles north-east of Place St. Germain. Its surface is hard clay and it has one hangar. In normal times there is a weekly Air France service to Dakar. 508 509

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[ST. LOUIS]

206 Wireless. The wireless station is to the south of Guet N'Dar.
505 Rivers. Above Faidherbe Bridge the river is closed to all vessels not
[648] flying the French flag. Boats drawing 10 feet can ascend to Podor all the year round, and in the rainy season they can reach Kayes (Vol. I, p. 367). Table V shows how greatly river traffic on the Senegal has declined in recent years.

TABLE V. *Tonnage of Goods from Kayes*

[497] [444]

	1928	1929	1930	1934	1935
Sent by rail or road	9,543	9,535	11,456	5,269	6,324
Sent by river	2,520	5,815	3,425	323	260

Shipping. There are no sea-going ships calling regularly, but the Messageries Africaines and the Messageries du Sénégal run services up-river.

36 [31] 162 489 712 DAKAR (14° 39'; 17° 25' W.). Population, 80,052, including *c.* 6,000 Europeans. Capital of the Federation and Headquarters of the District of Dakar. Full Commune. Custom-house. Law courts. Chamber of Commerce. Pasteur Institute. Hospitals. Naval base and dockyard. General Headquarters of the army in French West Africa. Police headquarters. British Consulate-General. Belgian, [648] Brazilian, Czechoslovakian, Danish, Eireann, Greek, Italian, Netherlands, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss Consulates. Argentine, Finnish, Spanish, and Uruguayan Vice-Consulates. Meteorological station. [654] [508] Airport and seaplane base. Wireless stations. Colleges and schools. Protestant churches. Roman Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Guinea and Vicariate General. Bank of West Africa. Banque Commerciale Africaine. Crédit Foncier de l'Ouest Africain. Banque Belge de l'Afrique. Power station. [697] Prison. Public library. Hotels. Garages. Railway workshops. [498] Cinemas. Race-course. Sports stadium. Botanical gardens. [654] Agricultural experimental station. Daily market.

●361 Dakar (Fig. 54) is approximately 2,600 miles distant from Southampton, from Cape Town, and from Rio de Janeiro. It is, therefore, well placed for taking a share in the trade of the South Atlantic, and it [433] is small wonder that it has become the third port in the French Empire, being surpassed only by Marseilles and Le Havre. It is, moreover, of the first importance strategically.

Dakar

History

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilisation.

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[facing p 448]

Sth Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M697 Senegal M6 34

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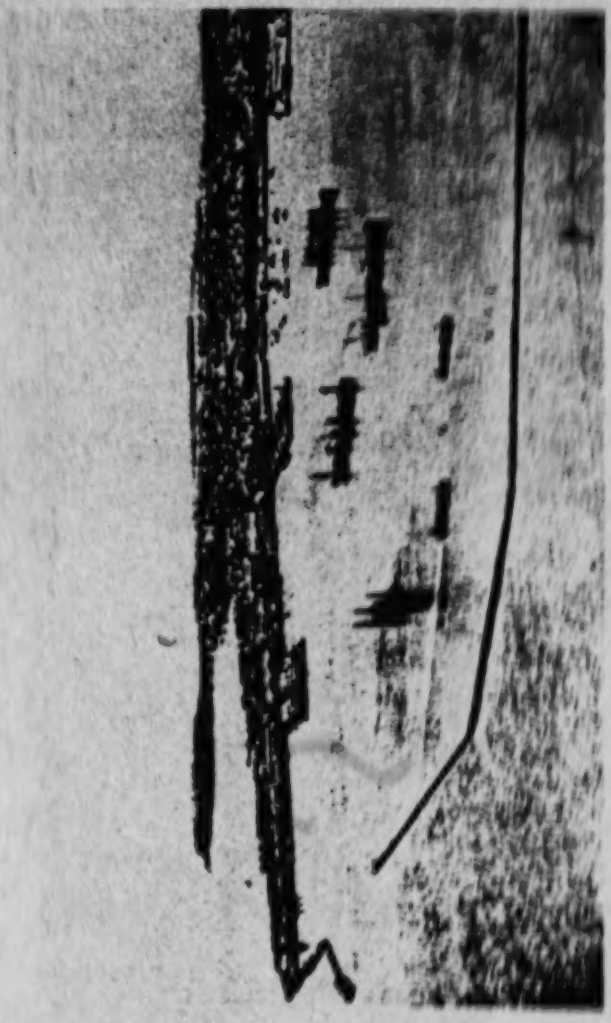

[facing p. 149]

Winterbotham et al. E-6 [no date] 1964 MSU Senegal MS 39

	Francs
Federal administration (salaries)	10,206,400
Federal administration (other expenses)	1,856,000
Financial department (salaries)	1,647,000
Financial department (other expenses)	370,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (salaries and wages)	6,631,000
Posts, telegraphs, &c. (plant and materials)	3,450,000
Public works	6,782,000
Social and economic departments (salaries)	8,868,000
Social and economic departments (other expenditure)	10,830,000
Sundry disbursements	2,726,000
Secret funds	12,600
Unforeseen expenses	33,000
Water department (salaries)	748,000
Water department (other expenditure)	3,142,500
TOTAL	60,033,000

In 1957, however, Extraordinary Expenditure amounted to 1,445,000 francs (£5,875).

The budget for the Port of Dakar has already been given on p. 447.

14. COMMUNICATIONS

Waterways

The navigable rivers and estuaries of the colony have been fully described in Volume I, pp. 386–7. The principal distances from St. Louis up the Senegal river are as follows:

	Miles
St. Louis	0
Rosso	82
Dagana	116
Podor	177
Boghé (Mauritania)	247
Kaédi (Mauritania)	326
Matam	400
Bakel	519
Ambidédi (French Sudan)	574
Kayes (French Sudan)	663

Railways

There are 648 miles (1,043 km.) of railway in the colony, all of metre gauge. For purposes of description six lines may be distinguished.

1. Dakar–St. Louis (163 miles).
2. Louga–Linguère (81 miles).

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

23: Anjas--1 G-5 (no date) 1929 MS37 Senegal MS37
Sine-Saloum
1921

I. General Information

131 634 a) Geographical survey. The circle /cercle, an administrative district/ of Sine-Saloum is a vast region of 28,000 square kilometers in area. It is one of the most important parts of the colony of Senegal. It is a heavily populated region. Finally, it has an economic value greater than that of the other territories which, together with it, constitute the Government of Senegal in French West Africa.

Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, it touches on the upper basin of the Gambia to the east and therefore on the very borders of the western Sudan, from which it is separated only by the circle of Tambacounda.

To the north, it reaches the desert of the Ferlo and the Djoloff region.

Along the entire southern part, its frontier runs along the territory of the British colony of Gambia, following precisely the parallel 13° 35' 36", conforming to the delimitation of the International Commission of 1891.

Such are its geographic limits.

133 A great navigable route crosses it from east to west, ending at the ocean; this is the Saloum River, which today is no more than a long maritime channel, narrow in its upper part, which the mud ruins by obstructing it, and ending in a vast estuary with a thousand /883/ ramifications, bordered by banks of mud and providing passage for ocean-going vessels at the place called Point de Sangomar, where there is a very narrow and not very deep passage. At low tide, in fact, the depths there are only three and a half to four meters. Under the influence of the trade winds and the tide race, the bar is subject to displacements which the hydrographic service rectifies by a series of buoys which is continued even beyond the estuary and up to Kaolack, a port about 100 kilometers from the coast. 502 261

505 In this sea arm of the Saloum, the tide makes its effects felt almost to Birkelane, 130 kilometers from the ocean. The

22: Poix--9 G.T-5 (1822) 1355 MS30 Wolof
Senegal M837

/44 cont./

The city is made up of 130 houses, well built and of 361
attractive appearance. They are embellished with exterior
galleries supported by pilasters.

I noticed the former seat of government (9) where the

9. At the back of the present square garden of the rue du Port. A comemorative plaque indicates the site of the former seat of government occupied by de Boufflers.

chevalier de Boufflers, so well known for his light poetry, [175]
lived. Governor of Senegal from 1786 to 1789, he preferred
to stay at Gorée rather than at Saint-Louis.

Today his house is falling into ruins. In front stretches
a splendid esplanade planted with tall trees. In the back, an
abandoned garden. There can still be seen a long avenue of
mimosas, coconut trees, and various other species of palm
trees, which the chevalier took pleasure in cultivating at great [197]
expense on this volcanic rock devoid of vegetable soil.

At the summit of the island, the citadel (10). It, too,

10. The present Castel /castle/, fortified anew under the Second Empire.

is falling into ruins. Without an enclosure, without even a
gate, the European cemetery (11) stretches at its feet. Graves 764

11. Nothing is left of it today.

lined up side by side inform the traveler that, on this soil, once
spewed forth by fire (12), today devoured by a torrid sun and

12. The high part of Gorée (the Castel) is of volcanic origin.

d'[i.e. Gorée -- Analyst]

34: Faidherbe--2 G-3 (ca. 1854-1865) 1889 MS30 Wolof
Senegal MS87

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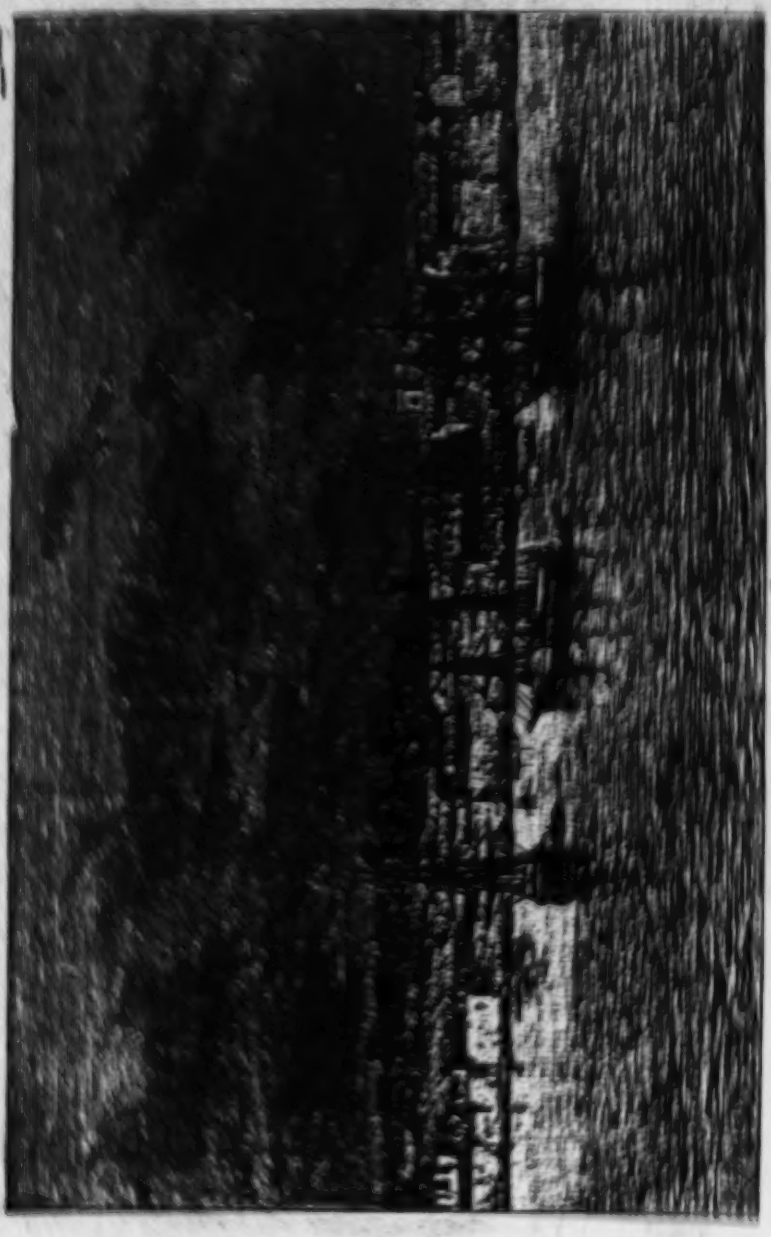

Niger at Kayes